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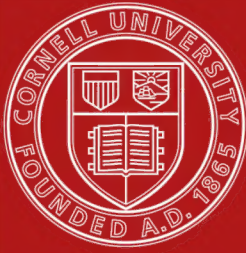
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GIOVANNI ANTONIO BAZZI

HITHERTO USUALLY STYLED "SODOMA"

THE MAN AND THE PAINTER

1477-1549



*Head of Roxana.
The Farnese Venus.*

GIOVANNI ANTONIO BAZZI

HITHERTO USUALLY STYLED "SODOMA"

THE MAN AND THE PAINTER

1477-1549

A STUDY

BY ROBERT H. HOBART CUST

M.A. MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD

LONDON

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Fin art

TO MY DEAR AND HONOURED

FATHER

AND TO THOSE KIND AND FAITHFUL
FRIENDS WHO HAVE HELPED SO LOYALLY IN
ITS CONSTRUCTION, THIS BOOK IS
GRATEFULLY DEDICATED

PREFACE

THE unbiassed impressions of a fairly cultured thinker, who sets himself conscientiously to study any particular subject or personality, can scarcely fail to prove of some slight value or produce some tangible result, though critics of History and Art may easily find openings for stricture in statements or conclusions. This study does not, however, set up any pretensions to *finality* from either point of view. I would invite the reader to follow me attentively, since I have endeavoured to gather together the fruits of my more gifted predecessors' researches, and to compose from their records a just and fair-minded picture of Giovanni Antonio Bazzi, the Man and the Painter; refraining from giving undue prominence, detrimental to faithful portraiture, to any single part of his history. To do this I have, as far as was reasonably possible, examined at their original sources all the documents I could obtain access to; a task which has enabled me at times to draw certain inferences, not always deducible from copies, or even from the writings of the most distinguished critics.

Here certain writers on Art will no doubt join issue with me; but I can only reply that my foremost object has been to collect the straw, for better

men to make into bricks. If I have been constrained to put forward views and opinions differing from those of the learned writers, who have approached the subject before me, I have endeavoured to do so with a just appreciation of the honesty and single-mindedness of their point of view, and their merits in other directions. Many have actually assisted me personally; while to the writings of others I owe information and suggestions, without which this book could never have taken shape. I owe much even to those who cordially dislike the subject of this study; for without an endeavour on my part to comprehend their standpoint, it would have been impossible to form an equitable estimate of the extremely complex nature of this artist.

It is in its very complexity that the keynote to this versatile character is struck. Were Bazzi not so disconcerting as an artist,—so extraordinary a compound of surpassing genius, and, at times, equally surpassing ineptitude,—it is doubtful whether any art-critic, from Vasari downwards, would have troubled to break lances over his personal character.

One of the best-known of modern art-critics once most aptly put the question to me in a nutshell. "Sodoma," said he, "was *an extremely immoral man*. I do not mean in personal character,—with that I have nothing to do,—but because with such gifts and such talents he should have let himself drift into work that would disgrace any artist." Despite its severity, this appreciation defines the *crux* of our difficulty in reckoning up his merits and marking his place in Art-History; and I for

one, although profoundly admiring Bazzi's best work,—in proof whereof I have expended no little time, trouble and labour, in order to produce an impartial study of the painter,—cannot deny the fundamental truth of the judgment. My own detailed opinion will be found in the text, but no lengthy summing up could better express the Art-Critic's point of view; which has undoubtedly also coloured the Historian's.

The list of persons to whom I owe direct thanks for assistance is a long one, and contains many names distinguished in the world of Art and History. Among them I would tender most grateful recognition to Dr. Gustavo Frizzoni, Conte Alessandro Baudi di Vesme (Director of the R. Pinacoteca, Turin), Cav. Francesco Negri (Casale-Monferrato), Sig. Pietro Masoero and Colonello Cesare Faccio (Vercelli), Cav. Attilio Pagliaini (Librarian of the University, Genoa), Comm. Corrado Ricci, Cav. I. B. Supino, and Cav. Nerino Ferri (Florence), Cav. Adolfo Venturi and Marchese Alessandro Ferrajuoli (Rome), Cav. Alessandro Lisini, Conte Francesco Bandini Piccolomini, Cav. Fortunato Donati, Cav. Narciso Mengozzi, Sig. Alfredo Liberati and Avv. Carlo Pacchetti (Siena), Sir Richard R. Holmes, Messrs. Bernhard Berenson, Herbert P. Horne, Roger Fry, Charles Loeser, F. Mason Perkins, William Heywood, R. Langton Douglas, L. H. Cust, Sidney Colvin, Edward McCurdy, Luigi Villari, Dr. Cornelius Fabriczy, and Dr. Charles Waldstein; Signorina Laudomia Lombardi (Siena), Signora Evelyn Franceschi Marini (S. Sepolcro), Contessa

Priuli Bon (Milan), Mesdames Helbig (Rome), Julia Cartwright, Mary Logan, Lucy Olcott, and Misses Ethel Halsey and N. Ryerson.

But more than special acknowledgments are due from me to Charles Kains Jackson, who (in 1897) originally inspired me with the idea of this work ; to Fräulein Uta von Weech, whose help in furnishing me with translations, photographs and information,—more particularly at the outset,—set it going ; and to Mrs. J. P. Richter, whose unwearied encouragement, advice and practical suggestions kept the book in being, through countless delays and disappointments. Whilst Miss M. Mansfield's assistance in correcting and preparing the proofs has been invaluable.

Finally, I have to thank, with all due appreciation and gratitude, my patient painstaking secretary and companion, Mr. Henry Burton, whose share of the labour, physical, mental and mechanical, entailed in collecting material and preparing it for the press, has been no light one.

NOTE.—I would ask the reader to observe that, since this study is fundamentally drawn from the records preserved by three writers (Vasari, Della Valle, and Romagnoli), it should be understood that, *unless special note is made to the contrary*, the editions of the works referred to are in every case as follows :—Giorgio Vasari, *Vite dei più eccellenti Pittore*, etc. : Sansoni, Firenze, 1881 ; with Comm. Gaetano Milanese's *Notes and Commentary* appended. Padre Guglielmo Della Valle, *Lettere Senesi* : Roma, 1786. Ettore Romagnoli, *Biographia Cronologica de' Bellartisti Senesi dal Secolo XII a tutto il XVIII*, MS, Communal Library, Siena.

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* * * The illustrations for this work have been selected rather with a view to assist the student to form an opinion of Bazzi's methods and artistic development ; and not merely to reproduce well-known works that are within general reach and cognizance.

CHAPTER I

GIOVANNI ANTONIO BAZZI

GIOVANNI ANTONIO BAZZI, or DE BAZIS, was born at Vercelli, in Piedmont, in the year 1477. This proposition sounds simple enough; but the statement alone raises issues that have been deliberately misstated over and over again by various authors, principally Sienese, in the course of the last three centuries. The researches undertaken in the Archives at Vercelli by the learned Barnabite, Padre Luigi Bruzza,¹ have, however, thrown considerable light on these points, and have settled some of them once and for ever.

In the first place, authority after authority, from Padre Ugurgieri onwards² down to the present time, has called him *Razzi*, while in divers catalogues of the galleries of Europe, both public and private, he still passes under that name.³ Presumably this error arose from the misreading of

¹ Padre Luigi Bruzza, B., *Notizie intorno alla patria e ai primi studi del pittore Giovan Antonio Bazzi detto il Sodoma. Miscellanea di Storia Italiana*, vol. i.: Torino, 1862.

² Padre Isidoro Ugurgieri-Azzolini, *Le Pompe Sanesi*, vol. ii. cap. xlv. p. 353. Pistoia, 1649. This author commences his sketch of our hero by categorically contradicting Vasari as to his birthplace.

³ *The Times* continues to perpetuate this error. In Redford's *Picture Sales of the Century* no pictures by either *Bazzi* or *Sodoma* are chronicled as such; all the works there assigned to the subject of this monograph being catalogued under *Razzi*.

some document by an ignorant copyist, for no possible doubt remains now that his father's name was Giacomo *de Bazis*, more commonly written *Bazzi*. This name with variants seems to have been, and is still, a fairly common one in Piedmont and Lombardy. We find *Bozis* and *Bozzi*, *Bosis* and *Bassi* among Piedmontese artists at work at the end of the fifteenth and the commencement of the sixteenth century.¹ It has been indeed suggested by Sig. G. Milanese,² in commenting upon the fact that in a document, dated 1518,³ in the Ecclesiastical Archives of Siena, our artist is described as *Messer Giovannantonio de Tizoni, detto il Sodoma, pittore da Verzè*, that consequently Giacomo de Bazis actually belonged to the noble Vercellese family of "*de' Tizoni*"; but having been reduced by untoward circumstances to exercise the trade of a shoemaker, he exchanged his real name for an humbler appellation; and that his son, on becoming a famous painter, and receiving the honour of knighthood, wished to resume his family surname.

Sig. Milanese goes on to propound the theory that, when in later years Giovanni Antonio had become impoverished,⁴ and was constrained to

¹ Padre Giuseppe Colombo, B., *Documenti e Notizie intorno agli Artisti Vercellesi*. Vercelli: Francesco Guidetti, 1883. We may notice later that Niccolò Bazzi, our artist's younger brother, married a daughter of one Giovanni Battista Bossi.

² Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite dei più Eccellenti Pittori, etc.* Sansoni: Firenze, 1881, vol. vi. (*Commentary* by Sig. G. Milanese), pp. 403-4.

³ ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI SIENA. *Archivio de' Resti del Patrimonio Ecclesiastico: Compagnia di S. Bernardino. Libro d'Entrata ed Uscita*, segnato C. iii. a. c. 42. 1518.

⁴ Vasari, *Op. cit.*, p. 387. "Cavaliere senza entrate."

work hard for his living, he once more dropped his aristocratic surname. Subsequent researches by Sig. L. Tanfani Centofanti¹ prove this conjecture to be ill-founded: since Bazzi appears, in his dealings with the Pisans, not only to have given *himself* that surname, but to have even described his father as *Jacopo Tisoni* or *Tissoni*. This circumstance might perhaps give colour to Sig. Milanese's first proposition, but not to the last; since at the time when the artist was working at Pisa he was already advanced in years, although there is no evidence to show that at the time of his death he was so poor as has been stated.

A recent critic² goes still further, and, on the strength of Sig. Centofanti's discoveries, dropping the name of *Bazzi* altogether, calls the painter *Tisoni*, and asserts that "At any rate for the last thirty years of his life Sodoma is almost always spoken of as '*de Tizioni*' or '*Jacopo Tizioni*' (sic)." We would in the first place remark that there is absolutely no authority for this mode of spelling (viz. *Tizioni*); and next, that the first record of the name *Tizoni* occurs in 1518, and then but *once* only among a number of entries in which Bazzi is alluded to by his *sobriquet*. And no later mention of it in any form is to be found until we come to the notices in the books of the Opera del Duomo at Pisa, which cover several years. Concurrently be it stated, that in a deed, dated

¹ L. Tanfani Centofanti, *Notizie de' Artisti. Tratte dei Documenti Pisani*, pp. 270-4. Pisa, 1898.

² R. Langton Douglas, *History of Siena*, p. 397. John Murray: London, 1902.

October 23rd, 1534,¹ which sets forth the purchase by the artist of a house in the Vallerozzi quarter, he is styled, "*Magnifico et generoso equiti Domino Joanni Antonio Jacomi de Bazis, pictorj de Verzè, alias el Sogdoma*": showing that officially, at any rate, Bazzi then went by his earlier patronymic, and that that name had been superseded neither by *Tizoni* nor by the *sobriquet*. Neither does the fact that he is described as "*Sodoma*" only, or its variants, in official commissions, entries in account-books, etc., and in the correspondence with the Prince of Piombino, support Mr. Douglas' very sweeping assertion. Mr. Douglas further² argues that the version *Tisoni* in the Pisan documents is due, not to the error of a careless scribe, but to the fact that in Piedmont the double "z" is softened into "s." This would be a plausible plea had the documents in question been registered in the archives of a *Piedmontese* town. In Vercelli itself it has yet to be discovered whether in written evidence the *Tizzoni family-name* ever appears thus softened; and the Bazzi family certainly always figure therein as "*de Bazis*" and not "*Basis*." But the contention, such as it is, falls to the ground, since the records, in which these readings occur, are both *Tuscan*—*i.e.* drawn up in a district where this suggested modification does not hold good.

Padre Bruzza asserts that the artist only assumed the patronymic out of sheer vanity and

¹ ARCHIVIO NOTARILE PROVINCIALE DI SIENA. *Rogiti di Ser Corti Baldassare di Pienza. Gestioni Notarili anteriori all' anno 1585.* Reparto A, Busta 988, No. 192.

² *The Burlington Magazine*, May 1902, vol. i., No. 3.

caprice : but whatever may have been the reason for his assuming this surname, Francesco de' Tizoni (*Francexio de Ticionibus*)¹ was one of the witnesses to the Articles of Apprenticeship,² entered into by the young artist's father on his son's behalf with Martino Spanzotto, at that time one of the leaders of the Vercellese School. This circumstance proves that a friendship existed between the shoemaker and his noble fellow-townsmen. It is therefore neither improbable nor impossible that Giovanni Antonio assumed the name of the family friend from motives of deference to his earliest patron and artistic sponsor.

¹ This cannot have been *Francesco Tizzone*, Lord of Desana, who resigned his fief to his brother Ludovico in 1483, since he died in 1485. Nor can it be Ludovico's youngest son *Francesco*, a Franciscan monk, who being the youngest of the seven sons of a father himself only born in 1456, would scarcely have been as old as the young Giovanni Antonio Bazzi. It probably was another *Francesco*, a cadet cousin of the house. Other younger branches of the De' Tizzoni were (a) Counts of Rive, and (b) Counts (afterwards Marquises) of Crescentino. The elder branch were first of all Lords, then Counts of Desana, and Imperial Vicars with the right of coinage. Desana is a district in the diocese of Vercelli, which includes Tricero, Aziliano, Lignana, and Ronsecco. This family also owned large properties in the States of Monferrato, Trino, Crescentino, and Ponsano. They were strong Ghibellines, and supporters of the Gonzaga family. Count Giovanni Bartolommeo Tizzone was ambassador in 1516 from the Emperor Maximilian to King Henry VIII. of England. (For further information as to this family see Costanzo Gazzera, *Memorie Storiche dei Tizzoni, Conti di Desana* : Turin, 1842.)

It is perhaps worth noting that Bertoletti (A. Bertoletti, *Artisti Lombardi a Roma nei Secoli XV., XVI. & XVII.* Hoepli: Milano, 1881, pp. 53, 54, and 338-9) quotes records from the Archives in Rome of two Francesco *Tizzoni* of Caravaggio, architects and cabinet-makers, residing in Rome about 1547-56, whose shop was near the church of S. Ambrogio. The younger of these, on November 28th, 1548, erected scaffolding for Daniele da Volterra in the Sala del Re of Castel S. Angelo.

² See APPENDIX No. 2.

Apart from conjecture and whatever inference may be drawn from these incidents, the fact remains, that the name under which he was generally known throughout his life was *Bazzi*. Of his nickname we shall speak later—at present let us confine our endeavours to elucidating the remaining points involved in our first sentence.

Giovanni Antonio Bazzi's birthplace was undoubtedly Vercelli, in Piedmont, as Vasari rightly states. The reasons adduced below will, we have no doubt, set this point beyond the pale of contention. The artist, however, having come to Siena at the age of twenty-three or thereabouts, having married there, having made that town his home, having done most of his best work there and in the immediate neighbourhood, for the greater honour and glory of Siena, and lastly, having died there, the patriotic people of that city wished to claim him as one of her sons by *birth* as well as by *adoption*. In spite of the denial of authors of such eminence as Tizio,¹ Giovio,² Armenini,³ Landi,⁴ and

¹ Sigismondo Tizio, *Historiarum Senensium*, MS., Biblioteca Comunale, Siena, vol. vii. p. 460. "*Johannis Antonii Vercellensis*."

² Paolo Giovio, in his short *Vita o Elogio di Raffaello de Urbino*, which is to be found in his *Fragmentum Trium Dialogorum*, published by Tiraboschi (*Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, vol. vii. part iv. p. 1723: Modena, 1792, in-4) says: "*Sodomas Vercellensis prae-postero, instabilique iudicio usque ad insaniae affectationem Senarum urbe notissimus, quum impetuosum animum ad artem revocat admiranda perfecit et adeo concitata manu, ut nihilo secius, quod mirum est, neminem eo prudentius, et tranquillius pinxisse appareat.*"

³ Giovanni Battista Armenini da Faenza, *Dei Veri Precetti della Pittura*, lib. i. cap. iii. Ravenna: Tebaldini, 1587.

⁴ Alfonso Landi, *Racconto di Pitture, di Statue e d'altre Opere Eccellenti, che si ritrovano ne' Tempj e negli altri Luoghi Pubblici della Città di Siena con i Nomi Cognomi e Patrie degl' Artefici d'esse per quanto pero s'e potuto trovare*. 1655. Two MSS. Biblioteca Comunale, Siena.

finally of Padre della Valle,¹ several Sienese writers of lives of their celebrated citizens have insisted upon arguing that *Vergelle*, a tiny hamlet in the "Senese," a few miles from Torrenieri, was his actual birthplace. Romagnoli in his MS.² even goes so far as to identify the landscape in the so-called *Portrait of Sodoma* in the Uffizi, Florence (said to have been painted by himself), as a view of the village of Vergelle, including the Casa Savini, called *Il Pozzo*, in which house he states that our painter was born.³ Further misapprehension, too, has been created by a footnote in the Siena edition of Borghini's *Il Riposo*,⁴ which avers that Giovannantonio's baptismal certificate exists in the Episcopal Archives of the city of Pienza. Padre della Valle, in his *Lettere Sanesi*, and Romagnoli in his *MS. History* above mentioned, spent much

¹ Padre Guglielmo della Valle, *Lettere Sanesi*: Roma, 1736, tomo iii. p. 238 *e seg.*

² Ettore Romagnoli, *Biographia Cronologica de Bellartisti Senesi dal Secolo XII. a tutto il XVIII.* MS. Biblioteca Comunale, Siena, vol. v. pp. 519—746.

³ By the courtesy of Sig. Ing. G. Mori, the present owner, the author was enabled to visit Vergelle on December 12th, 1898. The foundations of, and a well belonging to a house, traditionally called "*Il Pozzo*," are certainly still to be seen there.

⁴ Raffaello Borghini, *Il Riposo*, vol. iii, p. 37. Siena: Pazzini, 1787. "*Nell' Archivio Vescovile della Città di Pienza nello stato di Siena, in un libro dei Battezzati della Curà di Vergelle, esiste la Fede del Battesimo di Giovannantonio Sodoma*" (sic). It was in this edition of Borghini's work that the note first appears, from whence it was copied in the subsequent editions. The various editions of his work are as follows:—Firenze: Marescotti, 1582, 1584; Firenze: Moucke, 1730; Firenze: Nestenus, 1738; Siena: Pazzini, 1787; Milano, 1807; Reggio: Fracadori, 1827.

It may be observed that Borghini in his text gives our artist no patronymic at all, simply designating him as *Giovannantonio da Vergelle, villa distante da Siena 15 miglia, detto il Sodoma*.

time and patience arguing the probability or otherwise of this statement; but the discoveries at Vercelli prove the utter falsity of Borghini's asseverations, and establish a fact that should have been unmistakable. The evidence afforded by the painter's own compositions, in which the Lombard influence of his early years are, as Vasari points out, so clearly traceable, should have sufficed without the corroboration of original documents.

The third point at issue has still to be dealt with—*i.e.*, the date of his birth. Padre della Valle, agreeing with the opinion of Baldinucci¹ before him, argues that the event occurred in 1479; while Milanese, writing in 1856, would at first have placed it as far back as 1474,² but corrects his view in a note to Vasari's *Life of Bazzi*.³ Vasari confuses us still further by stating that Bazzi died in 1554, aged seventy-five, whereas we know from a letter⁴ from Alessandro Buoninsegni to his brother Bernardino, Sienese Ambassador to the Court of Naples, that the demise actually took place during the night of February 14th-15th, 1549. The fruits of Padre Bruzza's researches enable us to ascertain the real date with a greater approach to accuracy.

In the first place, we know that Giacomo Bazzi,

¹ Filippo Baldinucci, Fiorentino, *Notizie dei Professori del Disegno*. Torino, 1770. Book vi. p. 500, note.

² Gaetano Milanese, *Documenti per la Storia dell' Arte Senese*. Siena, 1856. Tom. iii. p. 182.

³ Vasari, *Op. cit.*, p. 399, note 4.

⁴ ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI SIENA. *Lettere di Ser Alessandro Buoninsegni a Bernardino suo fratello* (now filed among *Lettere agli Ambasciatori di particolari persone* 1547-8. Files 2447-9).

the father of our hero, was the son of one Antonio de Bazis,¹ whose death must have occurred prior to the year 1494. Whether, having completed his apprenticeship in Biandrate, Giacomo came straight from thence to Vercelli or not, we can but guess. In any case we know that on January 26th, 1475, by agreement with one Lorenzo Furione, he leased a shop with dwelling-rooms attached, in the parish of S. Michele, at Vercelli.² We gather furthermore—although the marriage contract is no longer to be found,—that he married in 1476 *Angelina da Bergamo* (or Bergamo), and had by her three children, *Giovanni Antonio*, *Niccolò*, and *Amedea*. Herr Jansen, in his picturesque study of the life of our artist,³ argues—but without giving valid grounds for his opinion—that Giovanni Antonio was the younger of the two sons. Dr. Frizzoni,⁴ with more reason, concludes that, as in his father's Will,⁵ dated August 13th, 1497, Giovanni Antonio is mentioned *first*, he probably was the eldest child. This argument is likewise supported by two Deeds of Transfer and Sale, dated January 31st, 1502, and August 3rd, 1503, respectively. From the

¹ ARCHIVIO CIVICO DI VERCELLI. *Rogito di Enrico de Balbis*, Not. 9, fol. 61, and Prot. 3, fol. 2. Bruzza, *Op. cit.*, p. 37. See APPENDIX No. 1, *Pedigree of the Family of Bazzi*.

² ARCHIVIO detto, 26 Gennaio, 1475. *Rogito di Guidetto de Pelli-pariis*, Not. 4, fol. 334.

³ Albert Jansen, *Leben und Werke des Malers Giovanni Antonio Bazzi von Vercelli genannt Sodoma*. Als Beitrag zur Geschichte der Italienischen Renaissance, zum ersten Male beschrieben. Stuttgart: Ebner & Seubert, 1870.

⁴ Gustavo Frizzoni, *L'Arte Italiana del Rinascimento. Giovanni Antonio de' Bazzi detto il Sodoma*. Milano: Fratelli Dumolard, 1891.

⁵ ARCHIVIO detto, 13 Agosto, 1497. *Rogito di Enrico de Balbis*, Prot. 4, fol. 231. See APPENDIX No. 3.

former¹ we learn that, at the time of the execution of the instrument, all three children were under twenty-five years of age—the period fixed by their father's Will for their minority—their mother being therein described as *tutrix* and *curatrix* of their persons and estates. The latter,² however, which deals with Niccolò alone, tells us that he had attained his majority at the date of its execution. We may not unreasonably presume from this, that Giovanni Antonio had reached the age of twenty-five some time between these two dates, and can therefore fix his birth as having occurred in 1477.³

Having thus explained in detail the issues raised by our first sentence, and before proceeding with the life of the artist, let us deal as briefly as may be with the facts that can be ascertained concerning his evil-sounding *sobriquet*.

It would be idle to deny the immense debt of gratitude that the modern world owes to the labours of Giorgio Vasari,—painter, historian and critic. His pages teem with information of the utmost value. But it should be—in these days—super-

¹ ARCHIVIO detto, 31 Gennaio, 1502. *Rogito di Enrico de Balbis*, B. 4, Not. 3, fol. 146-8, where Angelina Bazzi is described as: "*tutrix et curatrix ac tutorio et curatorio nomine Nichole, Joanne Antoni et Amedee, filiorum ipsius Angeline et dicti quondam magri Jacobi*," ecc. See *post*, p. 54, note 1.

² ARCHIVIO detto, 3 Agosto, 1503. *Rogito di Guglielmo de Lonate*, L. 6, Not. 29, fol. 111. "1503. 3 Augusti in vicinia Beate Marie Majoris et in domo habitat. infrarscr. venditor presentibus . . . ibique Nicola fq. Magri Jacobi de baziis et Caterina ejus uxor cum consensu dicti Nicole ejus mariti presentis . . . faciunt venditionem, etc." Cf. Colonello Cesare Faccio. *Giovanni Antonio Bazzi (il Sodoma). Pittore Vercellese del secolo XVI*. Gallardi e Ugo. Vercelli, 1902, p. 221.

³ Niccolò may then perhaps have been a year younger—i.e., born in 1478.

fluous to point out how completely the charm of these volumes has blinded many of his readers to his obvious errors and wilful misrepresentations of fact. The list of statements recorded by him regarding the private lives of artists, that one by one have been disproved absolutely, is a very long one, and his gratuitous insinuations are even more profuse. If a painter or sculptor happens to be a friend of the author, or comes up to his artistic standard, at once everything unpleasant in his life and character is nicely slurred over. But woe betide the unlucky wight who may be set down in Messer Giorgio's bad books! For centuries, nevertheless, the quaint scraps of gossip,—agreeable or ill-natured as they may chance to be,—have caught the fancy and embedded themselves in the memory of the *dilettante* and the sentimental journalist, instead of the more serious and important portions of an artist's history: the names, *provenance*, and so forth, of his work. Many a craftsman's fame has thus sunk under the waves of obloquy. Seduced by the glamour of Vasari's picturesque style, few have taken the trouble to sift dubious innuendoes, or to trace the sources of information whence his facts were drawn. Statements in his pages too often gain their force from his mode of expression, or from their place—often totally unwarranted by actual fact—in the sequence of his narrative. Phrases, capable of double interpretation taken by themselves, are thrust in without explanation or comment beside other sets of definite and undoubted incidents; thereby leading the reader to most erroneous conclusions.

There is no question but that the evil memory overshadowing Bazzi's life and name is mainly due to the *animus* shown towards him by Vasari: so cleverly masked, so deftly suggested, as to leave an impression far more damaging than the most virulent abuse. Few except the historians and art critics of our day have probably ever heard of the other really more weighty accusations against him, of which we shall have occasion to speak later on. We would desire, however, to lay some stress here upon one or two circumstances which, although they turn the scale but little in favour of this particular artist, yet tell against an unquestioning belief in the veracity of his traducer's insinuations.

To no student of Renaissance History can it be a matter of surprise to find himself brought constantly face to face with prominent characters of extremely depraved temperament. Immorality in its most revolting forms not merely *existed*, but was *far from uncommon* in every rank of life, and conspicuously so amongst the most distinguished figures of the period. Although both Ecclesiastical and Civil Law promulgated severest penalties against offenders, their terrors were unheeded. Not only craftsmen, literary or artistic, but Popes and Princes, great soldiers and eminent statesmen, were guilty of the most shameless actions whenever lust or passion held unbridled sway. The most noticeable point, however, is *not* that such grave moral backslidings occurred, but that the attitude of mind, of so many of the most pious and law-abiding, was *in practice* so mildly and leniently disposed towards them. Ladies of the highest rank and most stainless

reputation appear to have remained quite unmoved, though brought into close contact in almost every relation of life with turpitude such as at the present day is scarcely even hinted at. Contemporary chronicles abound with gossip of the most scandalous kind, and autobiographers openly boast of their sins, without any idea, apparently, that the reader would show more than ordinary interest; certainly without any expectation of administering a shock provoking disapproval. Now, Messer Giorgio was a true representative of his time, and we cannot suppose him to have been really more squeamish than his contemporaries. Yet his *Life of Sodoma* is written as though he had the gift of prophecy and could have foreseen the verdict of posterity: the nicer judgment of a later epoch; or even the mental attitude of that very numerous class whose intellect seems powerless to distinguish truth from fiction in the vagaries of the artistic temperament,—a class lacking in what we would call the sense of historical perspective; to whom "*Roma locuta est, causa finita est*" in respect of Vasari's authority is an all-sufficient reason for abhorrence.

It is doubtful whether in his own day this species of condemnation could have had the strong penal or degrading force that it would bear at the present time; and in judging our artist as an individual, we should in common fairness start with our minds free from any bias formed by our Vasarian studies. We can, indeed, sympathize with Messer Giorgio on artistic grounds. To the industrious student, brought up in almost slavish

reverence for the correctness and formalism of the rules and regulations of classic Art, dear to the soul of Michelangelo's immediate followers, the wild, careless, erratic genius of Bazzi,—the inequalities of his work, which are the despair even of his warmest admirers,—must have been a standing cause of vexation and anger. Nevertheless no reasonable indignation can justify the cruelty of the attack *outside the realm of Art*. We must, therefore, look round, and endeavour to discover a just cause: a cause not far to seek if we trace to their sources the facts and information on which our gossip based his Memoir. It should be noticed that this particular "*Life*" was not included in the first edition of *Lives of the Painters* (1550), but was reserved for publication until 1568, *nineteen years after the artist's death*.¹ Both Bazzi's children, and presumably his wife also, were then dead. His favourite pupil and son-in-law had married again, and was living in Lucca,² a martyr to the gout, of which he died in June 1570.³ Of his granddaughters: one, Parsenia, was the wife of Scipione Rinaldi, and the other, Beatrice, had become a nun. Moreover, Bazzi had left behind him no school of devoted pupils; so that it was unlikely that any one would arise to confute false statements and scandalous suggestions.

The sources of Vasari's information were unquestionably tainted, inasmuch as they sprang

¹ We have observed above (p. 8) that, according to Vasari, Bazzi lived until 1554; a statement which shows plainly how little trouble the biographer must have taken to verify his facts.

² Vasari, *Op. cit.*, p. 399, "si sta oggi in Lucca," etc.

³ Vasari, *Op. cit.*, *Commentary*, p. 415.

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from Domenico del Pace (*Beccafumi*), the whilom pupil, afterwards the rival and bitter enemy of Bazzi; and from Giuliano Morelli,¹ the goldsmith, whose granddaughter, Batista, was, by her marriages, the mother of two younger competitors for public favour: Francesco Vanni and Ventura Salimbeni. Nothing can be more strongly marked than the manner in which Vasari contrasts the work of Del Pace with that of Bazzi to the detriment of the latter. No doubt the plodding draughtsman, who worked along the correct lines so dear to the heart of the Aretine, must have appealed to his artistic perceptions with greater power than the erratic genius, who declined to be bound by any rule, and defied all recognised canons. Once we grasp this fact, we can better understand Vasari's standpoint, and reckon the bitterness of his conclusions at their just value. Several of his points of view will come before us in the course of this essay; but two at least must be especially noted here with reference to the name *Sodoma*.

This name he professes to explain, in the most

¹ Giuliano di Niccolò Morelli, who bore the nickname of *Barba*, seems to have been the friend of several eminent artists, and both connoisseur and craftsman himself. He is mentioned by Vasari (vol. i. p. 644) as possessing the MS. of Cennino Cennini's *Trattato della Pittura*, and (vol. iv. p. 608, vol. v. p. 654) as extremely friendly with Baldassare Peruzzi and Beccafumi. He married Savina di Francesco, by whom he had a daughter, Maddalena, who in her turn married Vittorio Focari, becoming by him the mother of the *Batista* mentioned in the text. In 1537 he made certain silver vases for the Consistoro, and a year after had a lawsuit with that body over a metal figure of S. Paul. On December 29th, 1547, he valued (*Mil. Doc. cit.*, vol. iii. p. 175) some figures in stucco, made by Riccio for the Compagnia di S. Giovanni della Morte. He made his Will in 1570, in which year he seems to have died. He is referred to in the letter from Niccolò Trappolini to Alessandro Corvini quoted in APPENDIX No. 32.

damaging sentence in his entire narrative, occurring as it does almost at the outset. Oddly enough, the phrase appears in close sequence to some of the highest praise that the spiteful biographer could have passed upon his subject. A statement intended, be it observed, as a depreciation, but which gives us thus early the keynote to Bazzi's genuine artistic sense—viz., that he neglected all that, according to Vasari, he should have studied, in order to *make copies and sketches from the work of Giacomo della Quercia*.¹ He continues: "Era oltre ciò uomo allegro, licenzioso, e teneva altrui in piacere e spasso con vivere poco onestamente: nel che fare, però che aveva sempre attorno fanciulli e giovani sbarbati, i quali amava fuor di modo, si acquistò il soprannome di Soddoma; del quale non che si prendesse noia o sdegno, se ne gloriava, facendo sopra esso stanze e capitoli, e cantandogli in sul liuto assai commodamente."² To any one who has studied the life of so great an artist as Leonardo da Vinci, or the Sonnets of Michelangelo, which so plainly speak for themselves, a sentence such as this loses practically all value. No one in Art-History was perhaps so prone to seek the companionship, both for pupils and models, of *beardless youths*, as the amiable and lovable Leonardo; whilst Michelangelo with his own lips suggests views and opinions to which we can find no parallel in any authentic record of

¹ Vasari, *Op. cit.*, vol. vi. p. 380. "Fu solamente in disegnare le cose di Jacopo dalla Fonte, che erano in pregio, e poco altro."

² Vasari, *Op. cit.*, vol. vi., p. 380. An equally bitter attack, though differently worded, occurs in the *Life of Beccafumi*, where Vasari (*Op. cit.*, vol. v. p. 635) contrasts the characters of the two men.

Bazzi's life. Yet they were both fortunate enough to escape the rancour of Vasari, that self-elected censor of morals. We may notice that the biographer places these statements at the very commencement of his Memoir, as though the artist had acquired this opprobrious name almost immediately on his arrival in Siena; prior even to his visit to Monte Oliveto. Whereas we have no documentary or traditional evidence to show that he bore any nickname, but that of *il Mattaccio* (*Matazo*) given him by the Olivetan friars, earlier than 1512-13. We can thus once more appreciate how much reliance should be placed upon so inaccurate a form of special pleading.

The other circumstance is the *Palio* in Florence, a story which we had better at once briefly relate. The year 1515¹ found Bazzi in Florence, at work for the Prior of the Convent of Monte Oliveto, outside Porta S. Frediano, a member of the Brandolini family. At that time certain horse-races took place to celebrate the festival of S. Barnabas. Giovanni Antonio, always fond of animals, had a fine Barbary horse, and entered him for the contest. This horse won the race, whereupon the judges asked for the name of the owner in order to announce it publicly. Bazzi in reply exclaimed "*Sodoma, Sodoma.*"² Upon

¹ Vasari, *Op. cit.*, vol. vi. p. 389. For this purpose we have adopted here the *usually recognised date*. We shall have further observations to make later on. See *post*, p. 122 *e. seg.*

² That the exclamation may also have implied a covert sneer at the acknowledged laxity of morals then prevailing in Florence, is just possible. The Sienese were ever jealous of the Florentines; and to mark the victory by casting obloquy in their teeth may have been a not inconceivable contingency. Sensitiveness on this score, and a suspicion that they were being mocked, might well have provoked the

this "certain worthy elders" (says Vasari) were much shocked and offended, and appear to have incited the mob to stone the unfortunate foreigner. Here we must observe that the name *Sodoma* first occurs in a list of owners of racehorses that ran at a *Palio* in Siena, on the occasion of the festival of the Blessed Ambrogio Sansedoni in March 1512 (Old Style). The artist appears there in excellent company, with several members of the patriciate of Siena and other cities. In the following year we find him again under this same appellation in similar lists at several more Sieneſe *Palii*, competing with such august personages as the Marquess of Mantua and Cardinal Petrucci. Furthermore, a document still extant in the Medicean Archives, dated June 18th, 1515,¹ shows that he was specially recommended by his lifelong friend, Jacomo V. d' Appiano, Prince of Piombino, to Lorenzo de' Medici (the Younger) for assistance in entering his horses for the races in Florence. It is not impossible that this may have been the occasion to which Vasari alludes. But if, as seems most probable,

anger of the unthinking rabble, thus producing the results related by Vasari.

Any one who has witnessed the hostility excited against the winner by his rivals and their supporters at a Sieneſe *Palio* of to-day will quite understand this; and should he add Florentine and Sieneſe mutual jealousy, fury against the successful foreigner can be plainly accounted for.

An Italian friend has suggested that the racing name itself was originally a clipt sentence, "*So domà*," "I am the trainer" (of this horse)—a sentence to which jest or malevolence afterwards attached a sinister meaning. Though not inherently improbable, the suggestion is put forward for what it is worth.

¹ ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI FIRENZE. *Carteggio Mediceo privato*. Filza No. 114, fol. 191. *Lettera del Duca di Piombino a Lorenzo de' Medici*. 1515, 18 Giugno.

Sodoma was his usual racing appellation, it appears hardly likely that the public authorities and persons of rank and eminence present at the race would have remained in ignorance of the designation. If, again, the name were intended to be either opprobrious, or, as Milanese erroneously suggests,¹ coined for the occasion, with disastrous results for the unlucky inventor, how can we account for the fact that on June 22nd of this same year (the Feast of S. Barnabas being the 11th of that month) we find the first official notices of work allotted to him in Siena under this very name?²

Again, contrary to Vasari's statement, no documentary evidence exists to prove that Bazzi's wife ever actually left him. That she maintained a separate establishment would also seem most improbable, since notices in the Registers of the Contrada of S. Donato a Montanini at Siena—the quarter where he resided between the years of 1531 and 1541—show that they had then³ at any rate a joint household. Even after his death his widow is not ashamed to be set down as "*Ma. Beatrice di Lucha Galli dona già del Sodoma*"⁴ in the same records, and is described in the Inventory made subsequent to his decease as "*relicta domini Johannis Antonii Sodone*";⁵ whilst her mother,

¹ Vasari, *Op. cit.*, p. 389, note 2.

² ARCHIVIO DELL' OPERA DEL DUOMO DI SIENA. *Libro di Memorie* segnato E. 9, a. c. 28 tergo. 1515, 22 Giugno. ARCHIVIO detto. *Libro Verde*, Carte 287. 1515, 11 Ottobre.

³ ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI SIENA. *Libro della Lira*, No. 125, fol. 64.

⁴ ARCHIVIO detto. *Libro detto* (K.) 1549, fol. 37. *S. Donato in Montanini* (Camollia).

⁵ ARCH. NOT. PROV. SIENA. *Rogiti di Ser Luca di Mariano Salvini d'Asciano*. 1548-49, 14 Febbraio, No. 2386. Rep. A., Busta 941.

CaterinadeiGalli, in her Will, describes her daughter as "*Beatrice (eius dilecta filia) moglie di Giovanni Antonio . . . alias Sobdoma pittore.*"¹ Surely this is strong evidence against the assumption that the name arose out of practices which certainly would not conduce to harmony with a wife and a mother-in-law. Bazzi's long absence in the Emilia and Lombardy (1519-27), and his protracted visits to the Prince of Piombino, though they may have given colour to the gossip repeated to Vasari, hardly suffice to reaffirm the truth of so very daring an assertion as that made by the prejudiced biographer. The suggestions concerning the alleged neglect of her husband in sickness, etc., are, as we shall see, equally flimsy if approached with an impartial mind.

Indeed, it is difficult to see how Vasari's statements and insinuations in regard to Bazzi's private life can be reconciled with the undoubted fact that a Pope² and an Emperor,—neither of them, it is true, especially saintly, yet both at least above all suspicion of publicly rewarding a notorious evil-liver,—should have given him, the one the title of *Cavalier of Christ*, and the other the rank of a *Count of the Holy Roman Empire*,³ with—it is well to note with

¹ ARCHIVIO detto. *Filza di Ser Ventura di Cionne Ciogni da Lucignano in Val di Chiana*. Dal 1523-27, No. 48, Reparto A, Busta 604.

² A Florentine Pope too—a Medici—and but *three years after* the race at Florence, where *the sober-minded citizens were so scandalised at the sound of his name*.

³ Here, again, we must for the moment be content to accept traditional statements; since this latter title rests on the slenderest of evidence. But even supposing that the gift of the title is but a tradition, the fact that such a tradition exists proves the high honour in which Bazzi was known to have been held. See *post*, p. 211 *e seg.*

emphasis—this ill-sounding name attached. One may well argue that Vasari's suggestion of infamy defeats itself: for if he, on the one hand, seeks to defame Bazzi's character in this particular direction, how can he, on the other, account for the honours conferred on the man by Pope and Emperor, ennobling the *very name he asperses*? *No similar case is extant of a title attached to a nickname*; and it seems impossible to conceive that, even in a state of society such as that of the Italian Renaissance, a similar combination could have been devised as a piece of mere bravado. It may be noted, too, that on the many subsequent occasions whereon Bazzi is described, or describes himself by this surname, it is spelt indifferently in a variety of ways.¹ Nay! this pseudonym may possibly yet be discovered to be, after all, only a place-name, taken by the artist himself for some reason yet unknown to us; or, as has been suggested, and is more probable, a *nom de guerre* given him *without special evil meaning* by some club or society of which he was a member. This we know was a very general custom among the Sienese of that period,² and is far from uncommon even to this day.

¹ Thus *Sodoma*, *Soddoma*, *Sodona*, *Soddona*, *Sodone*, *Sogdoma*, *Sogdona*, *Sobdona* may be cited as a few of these. The student need only glance at the various documents printed in the APPENDIX to be aware of this.

² *Stordito*, "stunned, stupefied"; *Scacciato*, "expelled, banished"; *Sodo*, "firm, compact," "strong," "hard, solid, thick"; *Arsiccio*, "scorched," "thirsty"; *Deserto*, "abandoned, forsaken," are a few of these. Cf. also, on this point, Mgr. Giulio Mancini, "*Alcune Considerazioni*," etc. (*Benvoglianti Miscellanea*), pp. 252-6. Biblioteca Comunale di Siena. Cod. 231 (Libreria Capponi), p. 37; also L. V. 12, p. 73.

The only remaining arguments brought forward to support the opprobrious meaning of the nickname are found in the burlesque catalogue of Bazzi's possessions, *alleged to have been drawn up by himself in 1531*,¹ and the epigrammatic lines written by Eurialo Morani d' Ascoli, published in Siena in 1516.² Both squibs appear to have been unknown to Vasari, and the authenticity of the first is open to grave suspicion, owing to the fact that no *first-hand* proof of its existence is to be found prior to the publication of Padre Ugurgieri's *Pompe Sanesi* at Pistoia in 1649,³ *one hundred years after Bazzi's death*. And although, some six years later (1655), Alfonso Landi quotes this "*Denunzia*" in his *Racconti dei Pitture, etc.*,⁴ he admits that he had not seen the original, but had taken his copies⁵ "from the collections of those who in *our times* have had knowledge of ancient writings."⁶ In any case the document, if genuine, is so obviously only a coarse play upon the name,

¹ *Denunzia di Giovanni Antonio Bazzi detto il Sodoma Pittore. Nuovi Documenti, per la Storia dell' Arte Senese.* S. Borghesi and L. Banchi. Siena: Torrini, 1898, p. 456. No. 228. See APPENDIX No. 4.

² Euriali Morani Asculani, *Epigrammatu Libri duo* Cū Grā 7/Privi. (Dedicated to Francesco Sozini). Impresso in Siena per Semione de Nicolo Cartolaio anno Domini MDXVI. Die IX. de Feraio (1516-17). See APPENDIX No. 5.

³ Ugurgieri, *Op. cit.*, tom. ii. p. 356.

⁴ Two copies of Landi's work exist in the Communal Library, Siena; but a careful comparison between them will show that even his versions of this document vary considerably.

⁵ "*Questa Denunzia ha di molte Lacune; io l'ho tolta da raccolti di coloro, che a tempi nostri hanno (h)avuta intelligenza de caratteri antichi.*" Cf. also Della Valle, *Op. cit.*, tom. iii. pp. 328-30.

⁶ The compilers of the *Nuovi Documenti*, in printing this document, admit their inability to find the original draft. The arguments as to its genuineness will be found in the notes to the version quoted in APPENDIX No. 4.

that it carries little weight, as evidence in support of the suggested reason for its composition. The other is a similar jest, the point of which turns upon the existence of a nickname—coarse enough in all conscience—but not on that account surprising in a city where no man, however distinguished his position, could altogether escape the arrows of public wit.¹ Neither of these documents can in justice and fairness be taken as *proof of conduct*.

The reader nevertheless should clearly understand that no complete whitewashing of the character of Gio. Antonio Bazzi is here attempted. As we shall have good reason to note in the course of this narrative, his was a curious, eccentric temperament—a strange mixture of good and evil. But he was not, as Vasari would have us believe; that awful example of exceptional depravity wherewith to point a moral or adorn a tale. Such a hold, however, has this picture had upon the public mind for the last two centuries, that lovers of art have hardly dared avow their admiration for the works of so shameless an offender. It was not until Morelli and his followers commenced to point out the merits of many a picture and drawing unquestionably his work,—attributed, seemingly to save its reputation, to greater or lesser artists,—that they were restored to their proper author. A recent

¹ So celebrated a man as Cecco Angiolieri, though twice *Prior*, and the holder of some of the highest offices in the Sienese Republic, Treasurer to the Pope and a celebrated poet, stands pilloried to all time in an inscription over his residence in Via del Re in Siena by a nickname quite as coarse and even more significant. See A. D'Ancona, *Studi di Critica e Storia Letteraria*. Bologna: Zanichelli, 1880, p. 112, and A. F. Massera, *Buletino Senese di Storia Patria*, Anno VIII. fasc. iii. Siena, 1901, pp. 443-44.

writer¹ lays stress with considerable force upon the fact that nicknames are not evidence; and adds the following words, which seem to me most pertinent in this case :—

. . . Memoirs are not to be relied upon even in these days of rapid transmission of news and wide publicity. An historian who should essay to compile the biography of a public man of to-day, even from the daily and weekly journals, which are filled with personal gossip about those upon whom the attention of the public is fixed, would find such a mass of contradictions to deal with that he would abandon his task in despair; and yet the matter thus afforded to his inspection is day by day subject to corrections. Memoirs written by an irresponsible person in his private study are even more likely to contain perversions of fact, to omit, to exaggerate, to represent exclusively the personal bias of the writer.

It is hardly necessary to add that loose anecdotes and buffooneries . . . do not constitute evidence.

Our object is to raise this cloud of obloquy from the *man*, to point out the weaknesses of the hitherto blindly accepted arguments, and to place the *artist* in a fair and just light; so that readers may judge for themselves how far the castigation meted out to him is merited. For this purpose no stone has been left unturned and no original document unexamined.

It is sufficient here to emphasize the point, that whatever may have been the real origin of the appellation, and in spite of the ribald pleasantries which not unnaturally resulted from the sound, there exists at any rate *no authentic document* or

¹ J. C. Tarver, *Tiberius the Tyrant*. Constable & Co. : London, 1902, pp. 293-4.

proved fact to justify the statement that the name was derived from his habits; while the general tenour of the artist's life, as far as it can be *historically* ascertained, if wildly eccentric, is certainly not that of a loose or prurient-minded man. On the contrary, we shall have reason to notice that when the most alluring opportunities were offered him to indulge in any taste that he might have for pictorial scurrility, instead of launching forth into lewdness,—as so many of his contemporaries did,—he has left for us one of the purest Love-idylls of all time.¹ There is not one picture of his,—though many are sensuous in the extreme,—that suggests any but the most chaste and noble thoughts. This fact is undeniable; and while allowing for all errors of artistic taste, speaks volumes against the calumny of the worthy Aretine.

Siena may justly claim Bazzi as one of her children by adoption and long residence, and to his influence on her school of painting—at the time of his advent fast narrowing down into rigidity and byzantinism—she owes a heavy debt of gratitude. But local patriotism, try as it may, cannot efface the Lombard traces from his style and methods, were there nothing else to prove his origin. The honours showered upon him, the commissions given to him on all sides by clergy and laity alike, and the recognition of his *sobriquet* in official documents by the Sieneese authorities, render the imputation of profligacy, wherewith he has been branded, unwarrantably severe.

¹ The frescoes of the *Marriage of Alexander and Roxana* in the Villa Farnesina, Rome,

In closing this chapter, we cannot do better than quote the persuasive and eloquent words of M. Albert Rio,¹ who puts the whole matter very completely and tersely. He takes up, it is true, another line of defence, which, if not so strong, is at least worthy of serious consideration, side by side with the points that we have already put forward.

La dépravation précoce que Vasari a l'air d'imputer si légèrement au peintre *Razzi* est incompatible, je ne dis pas seulement avec le caractère de ses premières œuvres, mais avec l'estime et l'emploi qu'obtenait son talent parmi les religieux des ordres les plus sévères, chez les Carmes, chez les Dominicains, chez les Olivetains, chez les Franciscains de l'Observance; elle est surtout incompatible avec la popularité inouïe dont il jouissait, de l'aveu même de Vasari, auprès du peuple de Sienne, plus léger peut-être dans ses goûts, mais moins perversi que celui de Florence. A l'exception du banquier Chigi, dont le malheur des temps avait fait une puissance, il n'y avait peut-être pas un seul membre de la noblesse Siennoise, dont l'art eut à redouter un patronage en désaccord avec ce qu'on appellerait aujourd'hui les préjugés de la multitude. Les traditions du moyen âge conservaient tout leur empire, et, au plus fort des troubles civils, Sienne demeurait toujours la cité de la Vierge. Comment le privilège de tracer son image dans les cloîtres et sur les autels, dans les oratoires publics et privés, dans les tabernacles des carrefours et jusque sur les bannières des processions, aurait-il pû être octroyé, pendant près d'un demi-siècle, à un artiste noté d'infamie, et d'un genre d'infamie, pour la répression duquel, la colère du peuple n'attend pas toujours la lente intervention des lois? Comment aurait-on confié de préférence à une imagination

¹ Albert F. Rio, *De l'Art Chrétien*, vol. iii. pp. 219-34. Paris; Hachette et Cie, 1861.

souillée par le vice le soin de reproduire sur les murs des chapelles et des confréries les légendes d'un saint Bernardin et d'une sainte Catherine, dont la mémoire était chère à tous, mais dont l'intercession était plus particulièrement invoquée par les âmes pures, ou par celles qui sentaient vivement le besoin de le devenir? La dévotion populaire a aussi ses exigences et ses instincts qui sont plus infaillibles qu'on ne pense.

NOTE.—While this work was going through the press our attention was called to the following passage, which, we believe, is satisfactorily answered in the foregoing chapter:—Algernon Charles Swinburne. *Essays and Studies: Notes on Designs of the Old Masters at Florence*. 2nd edition. London: Chatto and Windus, 1876, p. 350, note. "Bazzi, as the last Sienese guide-book will needs have him called; Razzi or Bazzi, Sodoma or Sodona, the name of St. Catherine's great painter seems doomed to remain a riddle. Happily the beauty of his work is no such open question, so that the name matters little enough."

CHAPTER II

EARLY YEARS AND APPRENTICESHIP

HAVING now prepared the reader's mind to form an unbiassed judgment, we would turn back and relate such facts as can be accurately ascertained with regard to the artist's early life. For many years, as we have already had occasion to point out, a cloud of mystery obscured his origin, and many were the controversies that arose in consequence. The important work of the learned antiquary, Padre Luigi Bruzza,¹ published in 1862, has finally set at rest all conjectures on that score. Although it cannot be said that even with his aid we learn very much, yet certain leading and important facts, supplemented by researches since made by Padre Giuseppe Colombo,² enable us to reconstruct a fairly complete picture of Bazzi's early surroundings. Colonel Faccio³ mentions the existence in the Communal Archives at Vercelli of no fewer than thirty-two documents relating to the Bazzi family. Of these, fifteen merely contain the names of Giacomo Bazzi or his second son Niccolò as witnesses, etc., in matters other than their own affairs; four concern the dwelling-place of Giacomo Bazzi in Via San Michele, Vercelli; three more deal with Niccolò's marriage; but nine only have reference directly or indirectly to our artist.

¹ Bruzza, *Op. cit.* ² Colombo, *Op. cit.* ³ Faccio, *Op. cit.*, p. 16,

The custom frequently obtains among negligent writers, when the subject of their pen happens to be the *son of an artizan*, to speak of him as though he were *ipso facto* of the lowliest origin, and had been brought up in direst *poverty*. To instance a parallel case: a cheap rhetorical effect is we know constantly sought by speaking of the Apostles as "poor" fishermen, when a very cursory glance at the Gospel narrative shows that, considering time, place, and surroundings, Peter, Andrew, and the sons of Zebedee at least, were in all likelihood men of comfortable, if not affluent, circumstances. Likewise to speak of Giovanni Antonio Bazzi as the *son of a "humble cobbler,"* exhibits a misconception with set purpose of the customs of the period. Maestro¹ Giacomo de Bazi himself had been apprenticed to his calling, and rose to be a master-member of his Guild or "*Art*"; which in those days ranked with any of the trades now designated as the *Fine Arts*. The fact that Martino Spanzotto, at that time admittedly one of the principal craftsmen among the painters of his native town,—allied, moreover, with a patrician family,—accepted the shoemaker's son as his apprentice, shows that he, at any rate, held Master Giacomo to be *his* social equal.² Further-

¹ Frizzoni (*Op. cit.*, p. 101) justly makes merry over Herr Jansen's mistake in reading *Magro*, i.e. *Magister*, as *Magro* = *lean*. That he was a man of some substance, according to the standards of his day, is shown by the relatively large sums of money assigned in various ways, by Giacomo Bazzi for the benefit of his wife and children.

² That Giacomo de Bazi was not the only shoemaker in these parts who apprenticed his son to a painter, we have evidence from the documents collected by Padre Colombo (*Op. cit.*, p. 393).

"1496, 6. Luglio. *Magister ambroxius blaxio de Viglevano si obbliga di ammaestrare nell' arte della pittura, per lo spazio di cinque anni,*

more, the presence, as witnesses to this deed, of Master Francesco, the embroiderer,¹ and the nobleman, Francesco de Tizzoni,² together with the sum paid (50 Milanese florins), all lead to the same inference: *i.e.*, that Giacomo de Bazis was neither the pariah nor the pauper he is commonly asserted to have been. The number and rank of the witnesses to the Will, by which he left considerable property, etc., including some arable land adjoining the Via Pelosa,—a fact noticed in several subsequent documents,—to his family, all tend to bear out the same argument.

So much has thus been conclusively established: that Giacomo Bazzi came from Biandrate, his probable birthplace, to Vercelli; where, on January 25th, 1475, he took on lease, from one Lorenzo Furione, at a rent of 16 florins, a shop with a house adjoining, in the Via San Michele.³ House and shop stood on the borders of the adjacent parishes of S. Michele and Sta. Maria Maggiore; but, while repeated efforts have been made to trace the exact

Amedeo, figlio di Agostino di Masserano, calzolaio. Rogito di Francesco de Lonate. Not. 2, fol. 220.

¹ Faccio (*Op. cit.*, p. 217, note) points out that Bruzza has read *bordorerii*, a word which cannot be found in the dictionaries; but that a careful examination of the text shows it to be *borduarii* or *bordarii*, meaning "a trimming maker," "an embroiderer" (cf. Du Cange). There exists a *Broiderers' Company* in the City of London at the present day.

² Jansen (*Op. cit.*, p. 10) creates some confusion here between *Tizzoni* and *Trisconi*. He speaks of Giovanni Antonio's patron as *Francesco dei Trisconi* in the same paragraph in which he has just been discussing the *Trisconi family of painters*. As a matter of fact the name of the latter family was *Trissini* or *Tresseni*. Cf. Colombo, *Op. cit.*, *pass.*; and *post.*, pp. 33, 35.

³ ARCHIVIO CIVICO DI VERCELLI. *Rogito di Guidetto de Pellipariis*, Not. 4, fol. 334.

spot, the changes that have successively taken place within this area render all attempts at identification nugatory. Padre Bruzza is probably correct in supposing the site to have lain in the street now known as Via della Torre; and it is not impossible that, as Faccio further suggests, the modern Casa Leone stands on the spot where Giovanni Antonio Bazzi was born, and spent the years of his childhood and early youth.

Hither in 1476, Giacomo Bazzi brought his bride, Angelina, daughter of one Niccolò da Pergamo (Bergamo)²; and here their three children, Giovanni Antonio, Niccolò, and Amedea were born. Some eighteen years afterwards they removed to another house near by, belonging to the Sarrata family,³ where the widow and her second son continued to reside after Maestro Giacomo's death. That the latter dwelling lay within the parish of Sta. Maria Maggiore admits of no doubt, since Niccolò Bazzi's three children were all baptized in that church.

The reasons for joining issue with Herr Jansen's⁴ contention respecting the order of their children's birth, and our opinion that Giovanni Antonio was Giacomo and Angelina Bazzi's *eldest* child, have already been stated.

¹ Bruzza suggests that the *shop* was in the former and the *house* in the latter parish. ARCHIVIO detto. *Rogito di Guidetto de Pellipariis*, Not. 4, fol. 334; Not. 19, fol. 307. *Di Enrico de Balbis*, Prot. 3, fol. 2 e 218; Prot. 4, fol. 231; Not. 8, fol. 139. *Di Gio. Giacomo de Riciis*, Not. 6, fol. 1. *Op. cit.*, p. 16, note 40.

² ARCHIVIO detto. *Rogito di Guidetto de' Pellipariis*, Not. 9, fol. 307. Bruzza, *Op. cit.*

³ Bruzza, *Op. cit.*, p. *cit.* Faccio, *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁴ Jansen, *Op. cit.* Cf. p. 9.

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On November 28th, 1490, Giovanni Antonio, having reached the age of twelve or thirteen, was apprenticed¹ to Maestro Martino Spanzotto, painter, of Casale Monferrato. The conditions of service exhibit an interesting analogy with a similar agreement,² whereby one Matteo di Giuliano Balducci, of Città della Pieve, was, in 1516-17, articulated in the same way to Bazzi himself. The term, of seven years, commenced on Christmas Day, and the father covenanted to furnish the son, on entering the school, with two smock frocks (*diploydes*) and three pairs of buskins (*caligae*); and each year a suit of clothes "of a suitable size," besides walking-shoes (*sotulares*), shirts and necessary linen: all additions and repairs needed to his wardrobe over and above these, being supplied by the master. The premium of 50 Milanese florins (= 160 francs approximately) was divided into seven portions, payable in annual instalments at the commencement of each year. Maestro Giacomo covenants furthermore, on behalf of his son, that the said son shall be a useful and obedient servant to his teacher and master.

In return for all this, Spanzotto bound himself to feed and lodge the boy "as became his station" (*condecentem justa condicione*), and to teach him all the various forms of painting, with the rules, etc., and the secrets of the trade "as far as he knew them himself": i.e., *artem pinctorie toto suo*

¹ ARCHIVIO detto, 28 November, 1490. *Notulario di Guidetto de Pellipariis*, n. 18, fol. 592. See APPENDIX No. 2.

² ARCH. NOT. PROV. SIENA. *Rogiti di Ser Alessandro di Ser Francesco Umani*, ad annum. 1516-17, 11 di Gennaio. Cf. *post*, p. 156, and APPENDIX No. 14.

*posse et vidriatarum*¹ *et aliarumque sit* [scit] *idem M. Martinus*. Certain clauses follow in usual form, stipulating compensation in the event of a breach of the contract, and ensuring the validity thereof, as regarded the apprentice, since the lad was under age.

As until a comparatively recent date little or nothing was known about Martino Spanzotto; and the belief prevailed that his entire work had been lost, it may be as well here to record in a few words, the fruits of modern inquiry concerning the remarkable family, of which he was the most conspicuous member. So far no trace has been found of the work undertaken by him, conjointly with Giovanni Trissino da Lodi, in the church of S. Paolo at Vercelli, for the patrician family of Ajazza, concerning which corroborative documents still exist in the Communal Archives of that city.² But the publication of P.P. Bruzza

¹ Many writers have thought fit, from the introduction of this word in the articles, to describe Martino Spanzotto as a "*painter on glass*" only, and to ignore the fact that glass-painting was merely one of the numerous branches of the craft, taught in an Italian artist's "*bottega*," where the curriculum included frame-making, carving, gilding, and many other cognate subjects of art, besides the fashioning of pictures. This was especially the case in those schools most in touch with the Cisalpine Art-centres. In connection with the art of glass-painting, Bruzza (*Op. cit.*, p. 39) tells us that existing examples of ancient glass in the district of Vercelli are extremely rare, though some pieces are to be found in the Val Sesia of a slightly later date. Records of a glass factory are also extant in the parish of S. Salvatore in Vercelli, of which a certain Giovanni Maria Massara, from Altare near Savona, was principal in 1570.

² ARCHIVIO CIVICO DI VERCELLI. 3 Gennaio, 1490. *Rogito di Guidetto de Pellipariis*, Not. 19, fol. 17. 11 Gennaio, 1492, *di Antonio de Pessinis*, Not. 3, fol. 3 and 66. Cf. also Bruzza, *Op. cit.*, Documents E and F, pp. 40, 41; Colombo, *Op. cit.*, pp. 393, 475, 477; and Conte A. Baudi di Vesme, *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, Anno II. (1889), fasc. ii. pp. 421-23. See APPENDIX No. 6.

Action of time has brought about so many alterations in the church

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and Colombo's researches, followed by those of Conte Alessandro Baudi di Vesme, and Cav. Avv. Francesco Negri of Casale Monferrato;¹ and finally, the discovery of at least *one* signed work by this master, have promoted the obscure "*painter on glass*"² to an important position in the field of Piedmontese Art. Inasmuch as he was the first teacher, not only of so great an artist as the subject of this essay, but also of another painter, Defendente Deferrari of Chivasso,—the knowledge of whose merits has as yet scarcely spread beyond the districts wherein he lived and worked,—Martino Spanzotto's claim to a distinct place in the evolution of Italian Art cannot properly be ignored.

The earliest member of the Spanzotto family mentioned by Bruzza and Colombo is one *Pietro*, of S. Paolo, that the chapel, said to be that specified in these documents, is now a dark lobby leading to the sacristy. The walls of this lobby are covered with whitewash; and, although traces of frescoes have, it is true, been found there, as yet no thorough examination has taken place.

It is worthy of note that Franz Rieffel (*Studien aus der Mainzer Gemälde-Galerie: Eusebio Ferrari und die Schule von Vercelli—Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, Anno XIV. pp. 275-92) identifies the beautiful triptych (Nos. 217, 218, 219) in the Public Gallery at Mayence (once attributed to Bazzi, but now generally ascribed with more reason to Eusebio Ferrari) with a similar painting by that artist described by Cav. Gaspare Antonio De Gregory (*Storia della Vercellese Letteratura ed Arti: Torino, Chirio e Mina, 1820*), and by Carlo Amedeo Bellini and Giovanni Antonio Ranza (*Serie degli Uomini Grandi di Vercelli*, MS. with marginal notes, 1652, ARCHIVIO CIVICO DI VERCELLI) as adorning this very church of S. Paolo in Vercelli.

¹ Francesco Negri, *Una Famiglia di Artisti Casalesi dei Secoli XV. e XVI.* Estratto dalla *Rivista di Storia, Arte e Archeologia della Provincia di Alessandria*, Anno I. fasc. ii., Luglio—Dicembre 1892. Jacquemod: Alessandria, 1892.

² Giovanni Morelli, *Italian Masters in German Galleries: Berlin.* Trans. by L. M. Richter. George Bell: London, 1883.

referred to in a document¹ dated November 5th, 1481, in which *Martino di Casale civis et habitator Vercellarum* is described as *filius magri petri*. We should notice further that Martino, though spoken of here as "of Casale," was then apparently domiciled in Vercelli; and the terms "*civis et habitator*" would seem, by the implication of some sort of civic right, to substantiate the probability of his having attained the full legal majority of twenty-five years. Martino Spanzotto had doubtless been attracted thither by the advantages held out by the School of Art in that city, then almost a close corporation in the hands of the great painter families of Oldoni, Giovenoni and Trissini of Lodi; at that period also, one of the most important and flourishing centres of artistic activity in Northern Italy. Bruzza² suggests that Pietro may have been an artist,³ and shows that he had another son, *Francesco*, probably a painter, of whom notices are extant in 1494⁴ and 1528.⁵ The learned *Padre*,

¹ ARCHIVIO detto. 5 Novembre, 1481. *Agostino de Mondello* M.-8, Not. 20, fol. 97. Bruzza, *Op. cit.*, p. 20. Colombo, *Op. cit.*, p. 391.

² Bruzza, *Op. cit.*, p. 20.

³ Cav. Negri, in private letters to the author, dated October 21st, 1902, and November 16th, 1903, states that researches made in Casale by Conte di Vesme have elicited the fact that Pietro was called *de Capanigo*, and was a native of Varese, but was domiciled in Casale as early as 1470. He further quotes in his work "*Il Santuario di Crea in Monferrato*" (Piccione: Alessandria, 1902), p. 22, the following documents:—

ARCHIVIO CIVICO DI CASALE. 16 Novembre, 1479. *Notaio Carena*. "*Pietro Spanzotto da Campanigo* (sic) è teste."

29 Aprile, 1480. *Notaio Musso*. "*Martino Spanzotto, figlio di Pietro è teste.*"

⁴ ARCHIVIO CIVICO DI VERCELLI. 7 Maggio, 1494. *Agostino di Ghislarengo*, G.-5, Prot. 5, fol. 155.

⁵ ARCHIVIO detto. 11 Giugno, 1528. *Gio. Ambrogio Bulgaro*, Not. 11, fol. 210.

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on the authority of the document of 1528, further records one *Pier Francesco*,¹ a grandson of Pietro Spanzotto.

Cav. Negri² has discovered two more Spanzotti, both of them priests, who he suggests may also have been brothers to Martino and Francesco—namely, *Gabriele*, a Canon of the Cathedral of Casale (1502) and Vicar-General of the Diocese (1525) until his death on October 28th, 1531; and *Vincenzo*, a monk, likewise an artist. In discovering Gabriele this diligent searcher also unearthed the name of the mother of these four, and wife to Pietro,—*Orsolina de Spanzotis*, who died in August, 1489.³ He adds that a painting formerly in the possession of the Counts D'Arco of Mantua, but now lost, the portrait of the notorious

¹ This, however, Conte di Vesme believes to be incorrect, having failed to identify the individual above mentioned in the deed in question.

² Negri (*Una Famiglia cit.*, p. 15), admits his indebtedness to a M.S. work by Canonico Giuseppe Deconti, describing the works of art existing in Casale up to the year 1700, from which his nephew Vincenzo Deconti also drew his *Notizie Storiche di Casale e Monferrato*. The same writer, however, in the letters before referred to, admits that Deconti's chronicle, though very valuable as an indicator of works once existing, is most unreliable as to dates, details, and attributions. He adds, further, that a quantity of original documents, collected by the said Vincenzo and removed to his house in Turin for use in preparing his *Notizie*, were destroyed in a fire during the bombardment of 1799 (during which Deconti's father also lost his life).

Nicomede Bianchi (*Le Carte degli Archivi Piemontesi*, 1881, p. 369) says that these documents were not all destroyed, but that Baron Giorgio Rivetta, Mayor of Casale during the French occupation, mentions in his *Memoirs* having seen many of them exposed for sale in Turin at the beginning of the last century.

³ In the *Necrologium Beati Evasi Casalensis*, quoted in the *Monumenta Historiae Patriae Scriptorum*, vol. iii. pp. 485-6. "*Augustus: Obiit Domina Ursolina De Spanzotis, 1489, pro cuius anniversario, et Magistri Petri eius Mariti, Dominus Gabriel eorum filius assignavit proprietatem unam.*"

Bianca Maria Gaspardone¹ (Madame du Challant) in bridal attire, was generally attributed to Gabriele, but that this picture was probably painted by Martino Spanzotto.

Vincenzo Spanzotto appears to have decorated the sacristy presses in S. Maria delle Grazie in Milan in 1498.²

Another Spanzotto—*i.e.* *Pier Antonio*—is recorded as working from January 6th, 1548, to the end of December, 1549, at Castello Sant' Angelo in Rome.³ This same Pier Antonio is also mentioned in a deed of June 1st, 1561, among the earliest members of the Academy of S. Luke, which proves him to have been a painter of some note. Bertoletti believes Pier Antonio to have been a son of Martino, and adds two further documents: the marriage contracts of his two daughters, *Costantina* and *Albina*; from which we learn that his wife, *Faustina* by name, was a native of Parma. Of these said daughters,

¹ Blanche Marie Scapardone, or Gaspardone, born 1491 (?), married first Ermete Visconti, and secondly Baron du Challant. She was executed for her crimes in 1526. See *Manuel de Bibliographie Biographique et d'Iconographie des Femmes célèbres . . . par un vieux bibliophile*. Turin: L. Roux & Co., Imprimeurs Editeurs; Paris: Librairie Nilsson, 338, Rue S. Honoré, 1892. Cf. also Matteo Bandello, Novella 4, Grumello Cronica: Milano, G. Müller, 1856; Pier Ambrogio Curti, *Madama di Celan*: Milano, 1875; L. G. Vallardi, *La Contessa di Cellant*: Milano, 1891.

² Giuseppe Mongeri, *Arte in Milano*. Milano, 1872, p. 212.

³ Antonio Bertoletti, *Artisti Subalpini a Roma*. Mantova, 1884, p. 77 e seg.

ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI ROMA. *Libro dei Conti della fabbrica e monizione di Castel Sant' Angelo*. 1545-9, fol. 129 et seq. Conte di Vesme, in referring to these discoveries (*Op. cit.*), suggests that Pietro Spanzotto may have visited his father's former pupil, the aged Bazzi, in Siena on his way to Rome. Of course this is not impossible, but there is no recorded authority for the supposition.

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Costantina¹ married in 1567 a barber named *Pietro Rignoni* of Vogogna, near Novara, whilst Albina² married a Florentine wood-carver, called *Giuliano di Cazerini*.³

Last of all, recorded by Angiolo Salomoni,⁴ comes *Giovanni Ambrogio Spanzotto*, who accompanied Camillo Castiglioni in 1560 on an embassy from Milan to Philip II. This Giovanni Ambrogio is mentioned by Puccinelli⁵ among the *Causidici Collegiati* (enrolled attorneys or members of the Guild of Notaries) in 1532, and is said to have been the son of a certain *Pietro Martino Spanzotto, Cancelliere delle Fortificazioni*. Negri⁶ concludes from the coincidences of name, date, and profession, that this Giovanni Ambrogio was another son of Martino, and that, just as Pier Antonio was attracted to Rome, so he was drawn to Milan to exercise the profession of the law. Why the additional name of Pietro and the title of *Cancelliere delle Fortificazioni* are inserted is not clear.

Returning to Martino himself, we find that on

¹ ARCHIVIO detto. 23 Ottobre, 1567. Not. *Francesco Graziano*, 1567-8, fol. 68. It is to be noticed that in this deed *Pier Antonio* is described as *Petrus Antonius de Panzocchis Casalensis*.

² ARCHIVIO detto. 10 Maggio, 1572. Not. *Graziano*, 1559-72, fol. 403.

³ The late Sig. Gaetano Milanese, in his own annotated copy of Bertolotti's work quoted above (now preserved in the Communal Library, Siena), spells this name *Zazerini* and suggests that it should be *Particini*.

⁴ Angiolo Salomoni, *Memorie Storico-diplomatiche degli Ambasciatori incaricati d'affari che la Città di Milano inviò a diversi principi*, chap. xl. p. 156. Milano, 1806.

⁵ Placido Puccinelli, *Nobiltà del Notaio*, p. 276. Milano: Malevolti, 1654.

⁶ Negri, *Op. cit.*, p. 19. See APPENDIX No. 6A: *Pedigree of Spanzotto Family*.

August 11th, 1491,—ten years, be it observed, after his first appearance in the Vercellese Archives,—he took on lease¹ from Giovanni Bartolommeo of Conflentia a house, comprising a shop, a parlour, two bedrooms, and a cellar, close to Sta. Maria Maggiore in Vercelli, for a term of four years (“or five, if so it pleased Maestro Martino”), at a yearly rent of twenty Milanese florins. He thus became a neighbour of Giacomo Bazzi, whose son had, the year before, been articulated to him as apprentice.

The painting commissioned by Niccolò Ajazza, to which we have referred above, although not completed until 1492,² when the artist acknowledged the receipt of the sum due to him in payment for his work, was in process of execution during this period.

On May 7th, 1494,³ Martino's wife, *Costantina*—daughterto Antonio Pianta,⁴ a nobleman of Lauriano, in the district of Chivasso,—appointed, we find, certain proctors, including her husband and her brother-in-law, Francesco Spanzotto, to act for her in a lawsuit with a kinsman, Niccolò Pianta; perhaps, Conti di Vesme remarks,⁵ in connection with a legacy of a hundred florins, to which she was entitled under the will of her uncle, Spagnolio

¹ ARCHIVIO CIVICO DI VERCELLI. 11 Agosto, 1491. *Guidetto de Pellipariis*, P. 5, Not. 13, fol. 346. Colombo (*Op. cit.*, p. 392), who reads *canepa* where Baudi de Vesme (*Op. cit.*) reads *canova*.

² ARCHIVIO detto, 11 Gennaio, 1492. *Antonio de Pessinis*, Not. 3, fol. 3.

³ ARCHIVIO detto, 7 Maggio, 1494. *Agostino Ghislarengo*, G. 5, Prot. 5, fol. 155.

⁴ It would appear that the Pianta also bore the name of *Spagnoli*, were joint Lords (*consignori*) of Lauriano and one of the principal families of the Chivasso district.

⁵ Baudi di Vesme, *Op. cit.*

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Pianta, concerning which matter several documents exist. Not long after this we learn that, his lease having expired, Maestro Martino, returning to Casale, relinquished his domicile in Vercelli; for we read that, on December 21st, 1498,¹ he chose four proctors to represent him in certain dealings with Cavalier Giovanni Antonio di Marino. Negri suggests, as another reason for Spanzotto's removal to his native city, the revival of Art in that town under the Paleologi (Guglielmo VII. and Bonifacio V.), Marquesses of Monferrato, during whose rule Casale also became the seat of a bishopric. This circumstance attracted many artists thither, foreign as well as native-born; and no doubt Maestro Martino was glad to return once more to his early home. On July 3rd, 1511, and on February 4th and August 12th, 1512, we find the painter acting sponsor to certain children; and since this is precisely the period when Defendente Deferrari makes his first appearance in Casale,—coming from the province of Chivasso, where also the birthplace of Martino's wife is situated,—Conte di Vesme submits the very reasonable plea that he likewise was Martino's pupil.

Vincenzo Deconti² informs us that, on September 23rd, 1511, Martino Spanzotto was commissioned, on behalf of the town of Casale, to paint an *ancona* for the high altar of the Church of Sta. Maria di Piazza; but original agreement, church and picture have all disappeared.

¹ ARCHIVIO detto. 21 Decembre, 1498. *Guglielmo de Lonate*, Not. 16, fol. 673.

² Vincenzo Deconti, *Op. cit.*, vol. v. p. 43.



Photo : Anderson.

MADONNA AND CHILD.
BY MARTINO SPANZOTTO.

ROYAL PICTURE GALLERY, TURIN. ROOM 2. NO. 30A.

Our latest notice concerning this artist is a receipt¹ dated June 13th, 1524, for sixty-five gold scudi paid to him by Dorothea, widow of Sigismondo Asinari, for a painting of *S. Francis receiving the Stigmata*, executed for the Franciscan Church at Casale. But from a deed dated November 2nd, 1528,² in which Costantina de Spanzotis effects the transfer of her property at Chivasso, the conclusion is borne in upon us that Martino must have died at some time—the exact date of which we cannot specify—between June 13th, 1524, and the date above-mentioned in the year 1528.

The few existing paintings by this artist—either hitherto unknown or masquerading under other attributions—are at length being brought to light under the auspices of modern research. The one uncontested work, a *Madonna and Child*, preserved in the Royal Pinacoteca at Turin (Room 2, No. 30a), was acquired by the Museum authorities in 1899. The Virgin is seated on a high-backed Renaissance throne, the dais raised upon three round feet, while on the ground beneath lie strewn scattered blossoms of the blue periwinkle. A pensive maiden, depicted with eyes cast down, the Madonna wears a very sweet and tender expression, and her fair wavy hair, parted simply on the forehead, flows over her shoulders. She is attired in a

¹ ARCHIVIO DEL CONTE ASINARI DI CAMERANO. Not. *Francesco de Bazanis*. Found by Baron Vernazza, who gave the original document to the Library of the University of Turin.

² ARCHIVIO COMUNALE DI CHIVASSO. 2 Novembre, 1528. Rute 1526, fol. 80. "*Nobilis Costantina de Spanzotis pictoris . . . consignat omnia bona sua immobilia que habet et tenet in loco et finibus clavaxii, . . . etc.*"

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red robe and a green mantle adorned with narrow gold edging. In her lap lies the Child, clothed only with a little grey jacket scarcely reaching to His waist. He grasps a green book and gazes up into His Mother's face. A conventionally-patterned background in gold, combined with the wealth of decoration lavished upon the throne, serves to accentuate the simplicity of the Virgin's mien and attire. The picture is painted on panel, and the remnants of a much-damaged Gothic frame show that it probably formed part of a polyptych of some sort. The dais of the throne bears the words: HO-PUS. JOHIS MARTINI CASALEN.¹ The composition as a whole breathes ingenuous charm, the weakest part being the figure of the Child; ill-drawn, with a head so misshapen as to suggest deformity, while the matted curls of fair hair resemble nothing so much as a badly-adjusted wig.

Another picture in the Albertina Collection in Turin (Room IV., No. 150), attributed to the *Antica Scuola Piemontese*, is, notwithstanding the nefarious consequences of repeated restoration, almost certainly by the same hand. Here the Madonna is represented as a somewhat older woman and of more majestic bearing. The mantle bordered with delicate tracery covers her head, concealing the hair. The Child, nude save for a diaphanous strip of muslin round the body, stands upright on His Mother's knee. Though better drawn in this instance, the close resemblance to the Infant in the picture just described is remark-

¹ This inscription would indicate that he also bore the name of *Giovanni*.

able. The expression of the Madonna is likewise benign, while the lids are raised so that her eyes are visible. The details, which recall those of the picture in the Pinacoteca, are throughout more ornate: the throne is handsomer, and is decorated with clusters of fruit. There is no conventional background; but seated on the high back of the throne are two winged *putti* of the same somewhat large-headed type, playing on musical instruments.

Two other pictures are ascribed to Spanzotto's brush by various authorities, and, since each involves certain special points of interest, we will proceed to describe them separately.

Antonio Bosio,¹ and following in his steps Conte di Vesme,² record the existence of, and fully describe, a painting in several panels containing, *inter alia*, portraits of various members of the Tana family, Lords of Santena, placed by them in their chapel in the Church of the Madonna delle Grazie at Chieri. This picture was transferred about the year 1536 to the church of S. Agostino in the same city, and since the demolition of the latter in the early years of the nineteenth century the fate of the painting is shrouded in obscurity. An inscription painted upon it, and copied by Bosio³ from a MS. account by Padre Tomaso Verani (*obit* 1803), after setting forth at considerable length the names of the Family (the Founder of the Chapel and his four

¹ C. T. Antonio Bosio, *Memorie Storico-Religiose e di Belle Arti del Duomo e delle altre chiese di Chieri*. Torino: Collegio degli Artigianelli. 1885, p. 133.

² Baudi di Vesme, *Op. cit.*

³ Bosio, *Op. cit.*, p. 133 *e seg.* This painstaking writer also adds a number of interesting details concerning the Tana family.

sons), reads as follows:—*Qui hanc tabulam ipsorum impensa per Joannem Martinum Simazotum (sic) alias de Capanigo 1488 ad laudem omnipotentis Dei inviolateque Marie Virginis dedicarunt.* Conte di Vesme, drawing attention to the fact that the date 1488 is clearly a mistake (probably made by Padre Verani), points out that this *Simazoto de Capanigo* is no separate artist, as many of the earlier writers had imagined,¹ but that the name is merely an erroneous rendering of *Spanzotto de Capanigo*. Both writers go on to observe, that while the fate of the S. Agostino picture is unknown, a votive polyptych still exists in the octagonal Baptistery of the Duomo at Chieri, dedicated, as may be seen from the inscription thereon, to the memory of their brother Tomaso, by Ludovico and Tomeno Tana: *pro uno legato facto de quondam suo fratello magnifico cavaliere Hierosolimitano frate Thomaso morto in Rodò 1503.*²

¹ Cf. also G. B. Spotorno, *Storia Letteraria della Liguria*. Genova: Ponthenier, 1826. Vol. iv. chap. ix. "*Simazzoti o Simazoto Martino. 1488.*" "*Per Martinum Simazotum alias de Capanigo. 1488.*"

² Cf. Barone Francesco Gamba, *Abbadia di S. Antonio di Ranverso e Defendente De Ferrari da Chivasso*. Torino: G. B. Paravia & Co., 1876, p. 40. The inscription as quoted by this author runs as follows:—

On the left panel: QUESTA ANCHONA E STATA FACTA FARE PER I NOBILI AC GENEROSI DOMINO LUDOVICO ET PHILOMENO A TANIS, ET CONDOMINIS SANTINAE PRO UNO LEGATO DE QUONDAM SUO FRATELLO MASTRO CAVALIERO JEROSOLIMITANO FRATE THOMASO MORTO IN RODO. 1403 (1503).

On the right panel: COMANDATO PER LO REVERENDISSIMO GRANDE MAESTRO IN RODO CAN GALEE Q^{TRA} TURCHI IN DEFENSIONE DEL LA FEDE CATHOLICA IL QUALE RESTÒ IN LA DICTA BATTAGLIA PER MANTENERE LA FEDE CATHOLICA CON ALTRI MOLTI CAVALIERI CHE RESTARONO CON MOLTISSIMO HONORE DE LA REVERENDISSIMA RELIGIONE CON UNA GRANDISSIMA VITTORIA, CON GRANDISSIMO HONORE.

It will be observed that the quotation in the text varies considerably

The painting consists of six panels, the figures displayed in two rows, with a predella running beneath the whole. In the centre the *Nativity* with SS. *John the Baptist* and *Thomas* in the lateral panels, and above the *Madonna and Child* flanked by SS. *Jerome* and *Michael*. The predella exhibits a figure of *Christ (Salvator Mundi)* with *His Twelve Apostles*, six on either side. Barone Gamba attributes this picture to Defendente Deferrari, but certain characteristics—notably the treatment of the Madonna and Child in the centre panel of the upper row—strongly recall the manner of Martino Spanzotto. From facts gained in connection with these two votive pictures we apprehend that they must both have been painted subsequent to 1503, since it was on August 10th of that year that Tomaso Tana died of wounds received on the previous day in a naval engagement against the Turks at the siege of Rhodes. The weight of evidence then doubtless favours the presumption that, if not actually the work of Martino Spanzotto, the painting must at least have issued from his *bottega*.¹

from that in the note. The former is Bosio's version (*Op. cit.*, p. 127). The Baron has certainly erred in reading *Philomeno* for *Tomeno*. Cf. also Col. Angelucci, *Sull' Esposizione d' Arte Antica*: Torino, 1880; and cf. Giuseppe Cesare Barbavara, *Breve Notizie su due Antichi Pittori Piemontesi*. Extract from "*Arte Sacra*." Torino: Roux, Frassati & Co., 1898.

¹ Bosio further informs us (p. 128) that this polyptych was closed by doors, and that these doors were painted on both sides; one of the inside panels represented the *Holy Family with S. Anne*, etc., and the other the *Baptism of Christ*. The outside of one of the wings showed a *Holy Bishop* in full Pontificals censing an altar; whilst the corresponding panel bore the inscription EXAUDITA EST ORATIO TUA. The following signatures FRANCISC. BERGLÄDI. ET GOMAR. DÄVERS FACIEBÄT.

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The other work, a picture in the Church of S. Antonio at Casale Monferrato, is cruelly injured by smoke and nail-marks. It hangs in the Callori Pico family chapel (now belonging to the Marchesa Massel). It is also a polyptych in six divisions: a central portion with two panels of unequal size on either hand, and a predella: varying greatly in merit. The principal composition is remarkable in many ways. First and foremost on account of its subject, an extremely infrequent one on this side of the Alps: namely, the *Genealogy of the Madonna*.¹ An ornate Renaissance Hall forms an appropriate setting for the following personages. In the centre *S. Anne*, an elderly woman in a white veil, is seen holding an open book in her left hand, while with the other she supports the *Madonna*, seated on her right knee. The *Child*, nude save

appeared below. The learned writer endeavours to argue that these were two otherwise unknown Flemish painters. About the middle of the eighteenth century these panels had become so dilapidated that they threatened to fall to pieces. D. Peirone, Rector of San Giovanni *ad Fontes* (the Baptistery), therefore removed them, and they had disappeared at the time when Bosio wrote.

¹ We have only been able to discover five *Italian* examples of this subject. They are as follows:—

(a) In the Sacristy of the Duomo at Turin. A very poor specimen.

(b) In the Duomo at Asti; painted by Gandolfino di Roretis. Part of a polyptych, now divided and half buried in a huge Renaissance altarpiece; this, the centre portion, being hung very high up. It is signed and dated 1501, and is fully described by Diego di S. Ambrogio (*Arte e Storia*: Firenze, August 31st, 1901) and by Giuseppe Cesare Barbavara (*Op. cit.*, pp. 279-84).

(c) In the Collegiata at Grignasco, Val Sesia. Fine colour and in good condition. Attributed to and signed (?) by Gaudenzio Ferrari. An impossible attribution.

(d) The picture described in the text at Casale Monferrato.

(e) By Lorenzo di Pavia (Fasoli); now in the Louvre. From a



Photo : Cav. Francesco Negri.

THE GENEALOGY OF THE MADONNA.
(SCHOOL OF SPANZOTTO.)

CHURCH OF ST. AGOSTINO, CASALE MONFERRATO.

for a delicate piece of muslin round His loins, stands on the Virgin's left knee. He clings to His Mother with His right hand, while with His left He turns over the pages of the book held by His grandmother. Around this group and in their rear, six men in Oriental attire, standing in varied attitudes, represent respectively *Joachim*, *Cleophas* and *Salomè* (the three husbands given by tradition in succession to *S. Anne*), and *S. Joseph*, *Orpheus* (*sic*, i.e. *Alpheus*), and *Zebedee*, the husbands of her three daughters, all named *Mary*. Seated on steps, below the group just mentioned are the other two *Marys*: *Mary Zebedee*, with her two sons *SS. James the Great* and *John the Evangelist*; and *Mary Alpheus*, with her four sons *SS. James the Less*, *Joseph Justus*, *Simeon*, and *Thaddeus*. The colour is pleasing, and the aureoles, edges of robes, etc., are set off with gold. A label bearing the following

church at Savona. This is the largest and perhaps the finest of the series.

Though varying in detail, all five resemble each other in general arrangement of the figures, being evidently drawn from one traditional composition, which probably came from Germany, where the subject is very common. It is, in fact, to be found all over Northern Europe in painting, glass, sculpture (wood, stone, and plaster), enamel, miniature and tapestry; but very rare in Italy, and even unknown in the central or southern schools of that country.

In *b*, *c*, *d*, *e* the names of the various personages are either written near them or on labels in their hands, and on *b*, *c*, and *d* is painted the inscription quoted in the text, which, with slight variations, is the same in every case.

Two incomplete Italian versions of this subject are to be found in the celebrated painting by Perugino in the Picture Gallery at Marseilles, and in a composition by Parmigiano mentioned by Mrs. Jameson (*Legends of the Madonna*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., p. 395). In both of these the connecting links in the shape of the husbands of *S. Anne* are omitted.

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 inscription fills the space at the foot of the central panel :—

*Anna solet dici tres concepisse Marias
 quas genuere viri Ioachni Cleophas Solome
 Has duxere viri Joseph Orpheus et Zebedeus
 prima parit X P M : Jacobū secunda minorem
 et Joseph iustum peperit et Simone Juda
 Tertia maiorem Jacobum genuit atque Ioannem.*¹

Two of Mary Alpheus' offspring, who stand and sit on her right and left knees respectively, are nude ; and the little S. John wears only a thin white shirt, while the other children are fully clad. It is a very notable characteristic that the meanderings of the gold tracery in the decoration create just those lines that the leading would follow if the composition were produced in painted glass. The most remarkable and, we venture to think, the *most interesting points*, however, are the *two children in the centre below* and the *head of Mary Zebedee*. All three are much more carefully drawn, more easily and gracefully posed, and possess a greater air of distinction and realism than any of

¹ From the *Textus Sacramentarum*—a sort of rhyming creed first printed in 1523, but traditionally dating as far back as 1098—adopted by Renaissance writers and artists. See B. de Montault, who gives the entire text thus :

*Anna solet dici tres concepisse Marias.
 Has genuere viri Ioachim Cleophasque, Salome,
 quas duxere viri Joseph, Alpheus, Zebedeus.
 Prima parit Xtum, Jacobumque secunda minorem.
 Atque Joseph iustum peperit cum Symone Judam ;
 Tertio maiorem Jacobum volucremque Johannem
 Unius mater, hec quatuor, illa quorum.*

Œuvres Complètes de Mgr. Xavier Barbier de Montault, Prélat de la Maison de Sa Sainteté, vol. xvi. : ROME.—VI. *Hagiographie*. Huitième Partie, p. 379. (Poitiers : Imprim. Blais et Roy., 1902.)

the remaining figures ; and whilst the head of Mary Zebedee recalls the school of Leonardo, the two children bear a very strong resemblance to those in Bazzi's beautiful *Charitas* in the Royal Picture Gallery at Berlin (No. 109). Canonico Deconti,¹ attributing the work to *Pietro* Spanzotto, gives 1500 as the date of its execution ; but, as we have already said, the worthy Canon's dates are not altogether trustworthy.

No undue freedom in conjecture is necessary, however, if we remember that Martino Spanzotto would appear to have returned to Casale about 1496, at the conclusion of the lease of his house in Vercelli, and that Bazzi's articles did not expire until December 1497. The surmise, then, is not unjustified that this was a picture in which several brains and hands had their part ; and we may further submit the proposition, that in these children and the head of Mary Zebedee we might discern the handiwork of the young pupil² whose term of apprenticeship was just then drawing to a close. The side panels call for little remark. They contain the figures of SS. *Anthony Abbas* and *Francis*. The latter, a very inferior work painted in an altogether different manner, is possibly a late insertion intended to replace a damaged or destroyed

¹ G. Deconti, *Op. cit.* Cf. *ante*, p. 36, note 2.

² This view is supported by Negri, though Conte di Vesme, we understand, holds to the *Pietro* Spanzotto authorship. But what more likely than that Pietro, the son, was also one of his father's pupils and helpers, which would easily give rise to this tradition ? Negri adds that other works by the Spanzotti were known to have existed in Casale and the neighbourhood ; but they perished in the various sieges of the city : notably that in 1645, when General Covonges conveyed away to Carrate in France many art treasures that have long since disappeared.

original. The upper panels, with the *Virgin* and the *Archangel Gabriel*, both reveal,—the *Madonna* especially,—distinct traces of the manner of Martino himself, such as we observe it in his single known work. The predella comprises three small *tondi* of inferior merit, representing the *Ecce Homo*, the *Virgo Gloriosa*, and the *Archangel Michael* respectively. The painting is 2.20 mètres high by 1.60 mètres wide, and robbed of the original frame, the several parts are now divided by shabby beadings.

One more painting may possibly have come from the same source: a *Pietà*, part of a much-restored polyptych in the church of the Gesù at Casale. It bears many of the same characteristics, and the angels have the same large heads.

The *Annunciation* painted in two lunettes¹ is all that remains of a number of windows destroyed in a storm at the end of the eighteenth century. The fragments were at one time kept in the Sacristy of the votive church of the Santuario at Crea, near Casale, Monferrato, and are still, it is believed, housed there. All things considered, we believe that Negri proposes no unreasonable theory in suggesting them to be the work of the "*unknown painter on glass*."

Who Maestro Martino's teacher was, we know not, but it is clear that his training in the traditions of the "*Arte*" of painting, as understood at that day, was thorough and complete; and it is, moreover, most probable that a desire for further improvement brought him to Vercelli. It is a

¹ Negri, *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

somewhat remarkable fact that this small town should, in those days, have attracted so many artists of merit; for that the Vercellese School was also in close touch with those of Lombardy and Venetia is evident from the many records of painters from those parts who worked there, and at Casale.

That Martino's influence on his pupils was a marked one is clear from the close affinity (first observed by Mr. Berenson) between Bazzi and Defendente Deferrari; artists whose aims and achievements at first sight appear so widely different. We have therefore deemed it imperative to dwell at some length upon Spanzotto's history and work. The resemblance is more readily felt than defined in the few pictures so far traced to the master; but the dignified simplicity so characteristic of his *Madonnas* is perhaps recalled in some of Bazzi's more soberly conceived female heads. Whatever may have been the pupil's artistic inequalities and defects in after years, his taste and eye had clearly been correctly trained at the outset; and he owed a large debt of gratitude to Maestro Martino for developing in him that intense feeling for beauty which is so vividly reflected in all his work.¹

¹ We would here draw attention to a curious remark made by a recent writer (Pietro Rossi, "*Il Sodoma*" nell' *Arte Senese*. Estratto dal *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria*, Anno X. fasc. ii.: Siena, 1903, p. 7). He states that Bazzi was "*educato per lunghi anni da un maestro lombardo della scuola di Foppa*." Now there is nothing whatever to show that Martino Spanzotto himself ever belonged to the School of Foppa. But, as Morelli (*Op. cit.*, pp. 411-12, note 2) remarks, Gian Giacomo de Alladio (commonly known as "*Macrino d'Alba*"), a well-known pupil of Vincenzo Foppa, was working for some length of time in Vercelli during the last decade of the fifteenth century, and unquestionably impressed

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The powerful influence of Leonardo (then working in Milan) was doubtless also felt in the neighbouring Art-centre of Vercelli, and perhaps his drawings may even have reached that town. But whether Bazzi ever actually was Da Vinci's pupil is quite uncertain. We know that the great Florentine's example exercised strong effect upon artists like Bernardino Luini, who certainly never came under his direct training; and the same may therefore have been the case with the young Bazzi. Just as a few years later in Siena, Bazzi set himself to make copies from the sculptures of that greatest of the Sienese Masters, Giacomo della Quercia, so also may he have previously studied the works of Leonardo da Vinci. We also know that, when he came to Siena under the auspices of the Spannocchi, he had already acquired a distinct style of his own, which enabled him at once to obtain employment and speedily achieve considerable repute.

In spite of Marchese d'Azeglio's statement to the contrary,¹ Bazzi left no incontrovertible traces of work in his native city.² It has been

certain marked characteristics of his master's teaching on the painters of that school: one of the most noticeable of these being "the canopy," so frequently introduced by Bazzi into his compositions, and still more frequently employed by the later Vercellese masters.

¹ Marchese Roberto d'Azeglio, *La R. Galleria di Torino Illustrata*, vol. iv.: "*I varii di lui dipinti a olio e a fresco, che adornano i templi ed i palazzi della Provincia Vercellese, danno l'ultimo compimento alla dimostrazione, provando, essere già giunto questo pittore a maturità d'ingegno quando conduceasi a Siena.*"

² In November 1895, at the sale in Milan of the Scarpa Gallery of Paintings, from Motta di Livenza, Cav. Avv. Antonio Borgogna of Vercelli purchased a most interesting *tondo* panel by Bazzi,—till then attributed to Cesare da Sesto,—and placed it in his private collection. Thus one picture by the master now hangs in his native town. Cf. *post.* p. 69, note 3.



Photo: Dubray.

THE HOLY FAMILY.

BORGOGNA COLLECTION, VERCELLI.

suggested¹ that the ceiling of the ground-floor saloon in the Palazzo Tizzoni at Vercelli, behind S. Giuliano (now the small but rapidly growing Istituto di Belle Arti), may be due to his brush, but the inferiority of the workmanship and the stamp of a later epoch, set unmistakably upon the work in question, deprive the proposition of more than anecdotic interest. All we know is, that after his father's death in 1497, Bazzi left his native city; and we have no proof that he ever returned thither, even when, as is probable, he did revisit Northern Italy between 1519 and 1525.

We know that Angelina Bazzi survived her husband many years; that their only daughter Amedea had, previous to her father's death, married one *Giovanni Pietro* (surname unknown), taking with her a marriage portion of 100 Milanese florins (= 320 francs approximately); and that the extravagance of Niccolò—who did not come of age until after January 31st, 1502—made serious inroads upon his mother's estate. From the time, however, of Giacomo Bazzi's death in 1497, there are but two allusions extant to their elder son Giovanni Antonio. In the former of these,² he is spoken of

¹ Conte Carlo Emanuele Arborio Mella, *Allocuzione* (Nella solenne prima distribuzione dei premi alli alunni della scuola gratuita di disegno nella sala del Palazzo Civico di Vercelli li 8 Novembre, 1842. Vercelli, Tip. Ceretti), p. 28.

For a description of these frescoes, cf. Bruzza, *Op. cit.*, p. 42 *e seg.*

² ARCHIVIO detto. 7 Decembris, 1501. *Giovan Giacomo de Ricciis*, R. 8, Not. 6, fol. 66. Prot., n. 3, fol. 54.

" . . . quos florenos (triginta) prefata Angelina exposuit in utilitatem et comodum Nichole ejus filii . . . conveniunt . . . quod si contingerit ipsum Nicholam *succedere in bonis Johannis Antonii ejus fratris absentis*, (aut aliter dicta bona habere seu possidere) eo casu voluit et vult et ita convenit . . . idem Nichola prefate ejus matri presenti et acceptanti

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as *being absent*; and Angelina, in contemplation of the contingency (for which she must have had some good reason) of his absence becoming permanent,—through any cause whatsoever,—consents, subject to certain charges for her own benefit, to her son Niccolò dealing with his brother's prospective share of their patrimony. The second deed bears date less than two months later,¹ and therein Angelina de Bazis, after reciting the names of all her three children (putting however Niccolò *first*), expressly states that the conveyance in question is made with the consent of Niccolò and Amedea *only*. These deeds would seem to infer that for some unknown reason Giovanni Antonio, though still

quod ipsa mater possit et voleat ejus propria auctoritate ac sine licentia alicuius iudicis vel rectoris et absque aliquarum penarum incurso apprehendere possessionem ac tenutam, tot de bonis predictis, usque ad concurrentem summam praedictorum florenorum triginta. . . ." Cf. Faccio, *Op. cit.*, p. 220.

¹ ARCHIVIO detto. Notar. *Enrico De Balbis*. Prot. B. 4, n. 3, fol. 146-8. "1502 ultimo mensis januari in vicinia ecclesie Sancte Marie Majoris. . . . Angelina uxor quondam magri *Jacobi de bazio* de blandrate tutrix et curatrix ac tutorio et curatorio nomine *Nichole Joanne Antonio* et *Amedee* filiorum ipsius Angeline et dicti quondam magri *Jacobi* prout de dictis tutela et cura constat instrumento testamenti tradito et fieri rogato per me notar. infrascript. et dicti *Nichola* et *Amedea* ejus filiis mutuis consensibus sponte et ex eorum certa sciencia ac animis deliberatis . . . fecerunt et faciunt vendicionem et datum prefato no. Antonio de la Strata . . . de pecia una terre culte et plantate stariorum duorum jacente super finibus Vercellarum ubi dicitur ad *viam peloxam* sive ad ruose (?) fantinorum cui coheret . . . pro qua vendicione ac pro vero et justo precio fuerunt confessi et contenti a dicto emptore florenos viginti septem cum dimidio mediol. valent. ad ration. libror, trium et solidor. quatuor terciolor. pro quolibet floreno . . . quam vendicionem et omnia et singula suprascripta dicta Angelina et Amedea ac dictus *Nichola* venditore eidem no. Antonio de la Strata . . . jurantesque manibus ipsorum Angeline et Amedee et ac ipsius *Nichole* tactis scripturis presterunt . . . et dictus *Nichola* p. mediante ejus iuramento predicto cum esset minor vigintiquinque annis beneficio minoris etatis,"

under age, had by that time left Vercelli, and virtually severed all connection with his family and home.

From the same documentary source we learn that in 1499,¹ while apparently still a minor, Niccolò contracted to marry Caterina, daughter of Maestro Giovanni Battista del Ubertino Bossi, of Chieri, who brought him a dowry of 140 florins in money, goods and houses. Three children, the issue of this marriage, were born ten, thirteen, and fourteen years later.² In 1507 we find Niccolò appointing Ser Giacomo de Raspi, the noble Giovan Andrea Vialardi, Bernardino di Carisio and Giovan Giorgio di Biandrate to act for him as proctors in a lawsuit. The deed³ in question informs us that he continued to exercise his father's calling of shoemaker, and the names of his representatives stand warrant of their social position. They were perhaps old friends of his family, since one at least was a native of Biandrate. Here we lose sight of the Bazzi household; and our interest henceforth centres exclusively in that member of the family, through whose fame alone their name is rescued from oblivion.

¹ ARCHIVIO CIVICODI VERCELLI. 18 Marzo, 1499. Not. *Guglielmo de Lonate*. L.-6. Not. 25, fol. 55. In this document the scribe has written by mistake "*Bartolommeo*" instead of *Giovan Battista*. 19 Giugno, 1501. Not. *Enrico de' Balbis*, Prot. B.—4, Not. 5, fol. 146.

It is a fact worth noting that these two documents are more than two years apart in point of date. The first speaks of an intended marriage, the latter of a completed one, but there appears to have been no issue until 1510.

² *Libri degli Battezzati*. Chiesa di Sta. Maria Maggiore, Vercelli. *Giacomo*, baptized June 16th, 1510; *Lucrezia*, March 2nd, 1513; and *Angelina*, August 22nd, 1514.

³ ARCHIVIO detto. 23 Ottobre, 1507. Not. *Antonio de Pessinis*, P. 10, Not. 11, fol. 144.

CHAPTER III

EARLY WORK IN SIENA

WE now come to the parting of the ways in the life of our hero: the stage whence Vasari takes up the thread of his history: and it seems strange that apparently all that the Tuscan writer was able to discover about his subject, prior to the arrival of the latter in Siena, should be contained in the few words stating that his birthplace was *Verselli*. This fact,—though it became the fashion later on to contradict the biographer,—we know now that he was perfectly correct in placing in the forefront of his narrative. Vasari goes on to inform us (perhaps reluctantly) that, having imbibed to the fullest extent most of the *better* characteristics of the Lombard School, the young artist was induced to come to Siena by some agents of the Spannocchi family, who, as bankers and merchants, had one of their counting-houses in the Lombard capital.¹

In 1499–1500 the Duchy of Milan was plunged into the direst confusion. Overrun by French troops: its pleasure- and art-loving Duke, Lodovico

¹ Cf. Vasari, *Op. cit.*, p. 379, note. These were Giulio and Antonio, sons of Ambrogio Spannocchi, Treasurer to Pope Pius II., who in 1470 had built the magnificent palace in Siena (now the Post Office) from the plans of Giuliano da Maiano. This powerful family had counting-houses in Rome, Lombardy, and elsewhere.

Sforza (*il Moro*), an exile and a prisoner; his gay court broken up: all those learned and cultured personages, whose talents had combined to shed an unexampled lustre upon the scene, were dispersed to the four winds of heaven. The great Leonardo, his favourite projects still-born or compulsorily abandoned, had returned (1501) to his native Tuscany; and his gladsome bevy of pupils, Giovanni Antonio Boltraffio, Cesare da Sesto, Marco d'Oggiono, Andrea Salario, Andrea Salaino, and the rest, had gone their several ways. The amiable disposition and high artistic promise of the young Bazzi evidently attracted the attention of these patrons; and he was probably nothing loth to seek new fields for his ambition. The hold that Siena thus secured upon his affections was, as we know, strong enough to assure his lifelong allegiance; and the Siennese admiration for and pride in their painter grew as though he had really been born one of their kith and kin; an attitude of mind, indeed, that induced so many of their writers to endeavour by plausible though ineffective argument,—even in at least one case by deliberate falsehood,—to prove him to have been actually a son of her soil.

Our friend Vasari, moralising in Pecksniffian fashion, and adopting a tone rather more worthy of a homily than an historical or artistic essay in criticism; while founding most of his text, as we shall in due course observe, upon his vivid imagination alone; next proceeds to tell us that Bazzi¹ “being brought to Siena . . . his good or evil fortune willed that he should find for a

¹ Cf. Vasari, *Op. cit.*, pp. 379-80.

time no competition there and worked alone: that which might have been of use to him was in the end an injury; for, as if asleep, he never studied, but did most of his jobs by rule of thumb" (*per pratica*). Then comes the important passage: "and if he did work a little, *it was only in drawing some of the works of Jacopo della Fonte which were considered of value*, and little else." One is tempted to ask what better study could he have undertaken? There were really no other models then existing in Siena for a disciple of Leonardo to turn to for study and example. He could scarcely be expected to copy the style,—charming as we consider it to-day,—of the early Sienese Masters, nor could they have taught him anything that he had not already learnt elsewhere. On the other hand, it is clear, from such of his extant paintings as fall within this period, that he must have assimilated some portion at least of the spirit of the Umbrians then at work in the city. In no other way can the reflection of their style observable in his work be satisfactorily accounted for or explained.

Vasari next tells us of certain portraits in which he clearly recognises Lombard methods of colour and drawing.

That Bazzi loved to represent real people is so evident as not to admit of doubt. His Monte Oliveto frescoes teem with portraits, and many of his Saints are obvious likenesses of the people he met with in daily intercourse. In one case certainly: although the illustration is taken from a later period in his career,—the beautiful painting of the *Madonna and Child*, in the possession of the



Photo: Bruckmann.

PORTRAIT OF A LADY.

STÄDEL GALLERY, FRANKFURT A/M.

Ginoulhiac family in Milan,—is clearly the likeness of *A Lady and her Baby*. With but one exception there are, however, no portraits, as such, that we can definitely assign to this period among the paintings which have come down to us. A list of the goods and chattels left at his death¹ mentions a number of specimens of this branch of his art. Among them we find one of *Pandolfo Petrucci*, two of ladies of the *Saracini* and *Toscani* families respectively, and a "sketch" of the "*Archbishop*." All these have unfortunately disappeared.² The one exception is the portrait traced by Morelli,³ now in the Städel Gallery at Frankfurt a/M. (No. 42). It is a superb work: a half-length, painted with extraordinary care and finish. A stately and beautiful gentlewoman is seated beside an open window, through which the distant view of a smiling landscape takes immediate hold of the spectator's imagination. A heavy green curtain, faintly gleaming with gold embroidery, forms the background. Her left arm rests upon a small table decked with an embroidered cloth, and in her hand she grasps the richly ornamented handle of a black feather fan. In her right hand she holds a pair of gloves. Her dress consists of some rich dark sea-green velvety

¹ ARCHIVIO NOTARILE PROVINCIALE DI SIENA. 1548-9, 14 di Febbraio. *Rogiti di Ser Luca Mariano Salvini d' Asciano*, No. 2386. Rep. A, Busta 941.

² But we fail to see why, because these pictures happen to be portraits, writers should assume that they *must have been* painted at this period, as though the artist had subsequently given up portrait painting. It seems, on the contrary, extremely improbable that he would keep portraits on his premises for forty-five years or more.

³ Giovanni Morelli, *Della Pittura Italiana*. Milano: Fratelli Treves, 1897, p. 155, and note 1; and Frizzoni, *Op. cit.*, p. 123.

material, trimmed with bands of a lighter shade ; and a bodice with full sleeves, cut very low, meets an exquisitely fine muslin kerchief, worked at the edge, drawn over her neck and shoulders. The oval face, with straight nose, dark-brown eyes and wavy auburn hair, is crowned by a sort of coif sewn with seed pearls ; whilst a great deal of handsome jewellery adorns the person of this noble lady, whose lips have never disclosed the secret of her identity.

This picture, long attributed to Sebastiano del Piombo, whose name still remains on the frame, was said to represent the celebrated Giulia Gonzaga, wife of Vespasiano Colonna.¹ Other critics have given the painting to Paris Bordone² ; whilst the present Director of the Gallery, Herr Weizsäcker,³ accords the authorship to Parmigianino. We prefer Morelli's opinion, and the following facts assist, even if they do not altogether prove, the correctness of our view. The costume and the jewellery, —notably the earrings,⁴—are Sienese, and the cast of countenance is distinctly Sienese also. The argument against the Bazzi attribution postulates that this artist never before nor afterwards painted a picture so fraught with minute attention to details. Now, if it may with some probability be suggested that the lady in question was a

¹ Bruto Amanti. *Giulia Gonzaga, Contessa di Fondi*. Zanichelli, Bologna, 1896.

² *L'Arte*. Maggio, 1900, p. 285.

³ Heinrich Weizsäcker, *Catalog der Gemälde Galerie des Städtischen Kunst-instituts im Frankfurt a/M.*. Frankfurt a/M., 1900 ; pp. 256-8. Dr. Bode attributes it to Jan Scorel (*Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, xii., Heft i. p. 72) ; Burckhardt to Dosso Dossi.

⁴ Earrings of this shape are still commonly worn by well-to-do peasant women in the *Senese*.

Spannocchi, what more likely contingency than that the youthful painter, invited to Siena by such munificent patrons, did take *special* pains with a portrait commissioned by one of these personages, his benefactors; not only from a natural sense of gratitude, but in order also to better display his artistic abilities? Not merely do the jewellery and masterly reproduction of detail, wonderful though they be,¹ speak for themselves and reveal the real authorship, but the very brilliance and force of the picture itself—both characteristics in which our artist admirably excelled²—tell their story.

Even Vasari finds himself compelled to admit that our painter was a draughtsman of more than ordinary skill. In his "*Life of Beccafumi*" he states that this artist, whose own work he admires so much, was drawn back to his native city by the fame "*del gran fondamento nel disegno*" possessed by Bazzi, under whose training he for a time put himself.³ And in another passage he proceeds to describe in glowing terms a drawing in his own possession⁴ for the *Swoon of S. Catherine*.

And now we reach the *crux* of Vasari's worst

¹ The miniature-like landscape in his *Deposition* in the Siena Academy, to which Miss Lucy Olcott draws attention (*Guide to Siena*, p. 336: Torrini, Siena, 1903), is another example, and in all probability a contemporary one, of Bazzi's ability to paint details when he was so minded.

² Dr. Jacobsen, supported by Frizzoni (*Rassegna d'Arte*, August 1904, pp. 113-16), proposes the theory that the beautiful red chalk drawing of "*A Lady*" in the Uffizi (Case 103, No. 414), generally attributed to Leonardo,—and by Mr. Berenson (*Drawings of the Florentine Painters*, vol. i. p. 393: London, John Murray, 1903) to Pontormo,—is by Bazzi, and a portrait of this same lady.

³ Vasari, *Op. cit.*, vol. v. p. 635.

⁴ Vasari, *Op. cit.*, vol. vi. p. 394. A drawing (No. 268, T. 30) in the Uffizi Portfolios may even be the sketch in question.

accusations against our hero. But what on close examination do they really amount to? A lively, pleasure-loving lad of three-and-twenty, comes straight from the atmosphere of a gay and brilliant court, and the influences of an Art School where the joy of life ruled supreme; a school in which beauty, especially that of the male sex, was held in the highest favour.¹ There boys and youths stood as models, not only for angels and youthful confessors, martyrs or warrior saints, but also for the Madonna and holy virgins.² Would not such a youth naturally follow Leonardo da Vinci's artistic example; even if his age had not predisposed him to seek and prefer the company of his contemporaries? What more natural than that these light-hearted young people, brimming over with the high spirit of youth, should indulge in song, or "play on lutes," and at times perhaps allow their mirth to outstrip the bounds of strict decorum? Is youth so different nowadays?³

¹ The reader may be referred to an historical novel by Dimitri Merejkowski, variously entitled *Leonardo da Vinci* or *The Forerunner*. Even if the novelist has let his imagination run riot to some extent, the picture he paints is not without many elements of truth, and enables one to realise the sort of company in which the most impressionable years of our artist's life were spent. The strong hold that Leonardo obtained over the spirit of all who came in contact with him, has left its indelible mark on their work, even to producing an almost exaggerated similarity in their creations, which often becomes the despair of the art-critic.

² Not only was this the case with Leonardo and his followers, but many of the extant drawings of other great artists prove this beyond dispute. A well-known sketch for a *Coronation of the Virgin*, now in the Musée Wicar at Lille, is a good example. Cf. Eugene Müntz, *Raphael* (trans. by W. Armstrong): London, Chapman & Hall, ed. 1896, p. 32.

³ It is worth noticing that Monsignor Mancini,—quoted by several subsequent authors,—endeavours to defend Bazzi's character by implication; dilating on the physical ugliness, and even deformity, of some of his best-known companions and pupils.

His fondness for animals and his "Noah's Ark," which Vasari condemns so severely, is surely no crime. The passage from Vasari,—himself no lover of dumb beasts, as we may guess from the use of the term *bestiaccie* in his description of Bazzi's menagerie,—reads so delightfully, and gives a picture of so amiable a character, that we cannot do better than quote it in full. We read¹ that—

"he loved to have in his house all sorts of odd animals—badgers, squirrels, monkeys, apes, dwarf-monkeys, barbs to run races, little horses from Elba, jays, dwarf-hens (bantams), Indian turtledoves, and other similar animals—as many as ever he could procure. But besides all those things, he had a raven which he had taught to speak so well in many things, that it imitated his own voice, and particularly in answering if anyone knocked at the door, so well that it seemed to be Giovannantonio himself, as all the Sienese knew very well. In the same way all the other animals were so tame that they always lived in the house with him, making the maddest games and the strangest performances in the world, so much so that his house appeared to be a veritable Noah's Ark."

The ruling passion throughout our artist's life

¹ Vasari, *Op. cit.*, pp. 380-81: "Dilettossi . . . d'aver per casa di più sorte stravaganti animali; tassi, scoiattoli, bertuccie, gatti mammoni, asini nani, cavalli barbari da correr palj, cavallini piccoli dell' Elba, ghiandaie, galline nane, tortole indiane, ed oltri sì fatti animali, quanti gliene potevano venire alle mani. Ma, oltre tutte queste *bestiaccie*, aveva un corbo, che da lui aveva così bene imparato a favellare, che contrafaceva in molte cose la voce di Giovannantonio, e particolarmente in rispondendo a chi picchiava la porta, tanto bene, che pareva Giovannantonio stesso, come benissimo sanno tutti i Sanesi. Similmente gli altri animali erano tanto domestici, che sempre stavano intorno a lui per casa, facendo i più strani giuochi ed i più pazzi versi del mondo; di maniera che la casa di costui pareva proprio l'arca di Noè."

would seem to have been this love of animals.¹ He frequently introduces them into his pictures, notably in connexion with his own portrait at Mont' Oliveto; and his delineation of a prancing charger won him the special commendation of the Emperor Charles V. His horses competed worthily with the racing stables of the wealthiest nobles and merchant princes of the day; the Mont' Oliveto ledgers contain numerous references to Bazzi's pets; and a hapless monkey shared in the rough reception accorded to his master at the Race Meeting in Florence. We surely can sympathize with him here. So unusual a trait strikes a note of peculiar charm in our estimate of this much-abused individual's character. Vasari goes on to say that, notwithstanding his menagerie, he did manage to do *some* good work, which got him a "sort of reputation" with the Sieneſe. He promptly qualifies this grudging word of praise with "that is to ſay, with the people and the common herd (because gentlemen [*gentiluomini*] knew him as he was), ſo that he was conſidered by many a great man." The writer had begun, let us obſerve, by telling us that Bazzi was brought to Siena by the Spannocchi, a family who were admittedly among the leading perſonages of that city. We know that he was employed to paint their portraits, and we ſhall preſently ſee that another great family, the Savini, comiſſioned him to paint two ſacred ſubjects for them. In his next breath Vasari informs us that many of the animals in the

¹ Even in the liſt referred to above, of property left at his death, we find a "*parrot in its cage.*"



Photo: H. Eurlon,

MADONNA AND CHILD.

RICHTER COLLECTION, LONDON.

(BEFORE RESTORATION.)



Photo: Braun Clement & Cie.

THE SAME.
(AFTER RESTORATION.)

To face p. 65.

Noah's Ark came from Elba: gifts perhaps from Jacopo V. d'Appiano, Prince of Piombino, who, until his death in 1546, remained Bazzi's most generous protector. The animals were probably the original "bond of sympathy"; but whether the acquaintance had already commenced at this early stage of the painter's career, we have no means of ascertaining. This much, however, is evident; and Vasari, in spite of himself, makes it clear to us that even then it was not merely the *common herd* whom Bazzi had succeeded in pleasing, but also personages of rank and position.¹ Moreover, be it noted that he had likewise attracted the attention of the heads of the religious communities in and around Siena.

We would here once more earnestly remind our readers *that there is no documentary evidence* of any kind to show that during these early years Bazzi bore *any nickname whatsoever*. The first *sobriquet* that we have any just motive for assigning to him is that of "*Mattaccio*" or "*Matazo*" (Arch-Clown),—an innocent appellation enough,—and one that, as a matter of fact, was not attached to him until his sojourn at Mont' Oliveto. The insertion of the more notorious nickname and its alleged origin at this point of Vasari's narrative, is, as we have said, one of the most glaring examples of the biographer's antipathy; since it prejudices the reader at the outset against the subject of his Memoir.

We are told that Bazzi's studies from Giacomo della Quercia bore fruit in one instance at least,—a painting of the *Madonna suckling her Infant* ("*about three palms high and wide in proportion*")

¹ Vasari, *Op. cit.*, p. 381, note 3.

which hung over the lesser organ in the church of S. Francesco; and whose statuesque attitude recalled the centre group of the Fonte Gaia.¹

Mrs. Richter² has pointed out the striking affinity between the statues of *Rhea Silvia* and *Acca Laurentia*, by Quercia, once standing on the ends of the screen of this celebrated Fountain,³

¹ Cf. Della Valle, *Op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 255: "La sua Madonna in S. Francesco di Siena è in tavola alta, circa tre palme, e larga a proporzione, ed è mezza figura col Bambino lattante. Siccome l'aria, il paese, il colorito, e la morbidezza non lasciano dubitare che quest'opera sia sua, così il non perfetto contorno delle figure, e delle membre loro, il naso della Vergine, che non ista benissimo al luogo suo, ed alcuni altri piccoli difetti, che non si vedono in tutti gli altri quadri di lui mi persuadono, che questa sia la prima sua pittura fatta in Siena, e somiglia molto al fare di Jacopo della Fonte, e ad una figura, che ivi si vede ancora, benchè un poco guasta: il fare è duro, e secchino."

This picture disappeared from S. Francesco at the time of the great fire in 1655, in which so many celebrated works of art perished. Romagnoli (*Op. cit.*) however distinctly states that it is "*ora alle Belle Arti*," and refers to it again in a short list of paintings then in that Institution; though apparently not exhibited, since he does not include any of those now in the Gallery.

A panel, in which we believe may be traced this missing work, was purchased in Siena a few years ago by Mrs. J. P. Richter. The circumstances under which it came into her possession, together with its condition when bought—badly cracked and charred all down one side—support our contention, and would account for its disappearance into private hands, as too much injured for public exhibition, and therefore apparently valueless. There is an inferior, though not unpleasing, replica, varying in trifling details, now in the National Gallery (Room I. No. 246), clearly, however, the work of Bazzi's follower, Girolamo del Pacchia, to whom some critics would also assign Mrs. Richter's picture, asserting both to be copies of a lost Bazzi. We cannot, however, consider Pacchia capable of executing so exquisite and beautiful a work. The charm of the Madonna is so ineffably Sodomese, and the Child, vastly differing from Pacchia's, resembles other presentations of the Divine Infant by Bazzi, notably the *Infant* in the Ginoulhiac picture.

² L. M. Richter, *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, July 1901, pp. 244-8. (Leipzig.) *The Artist*, October 1901, pp. 89-93. (London.)

³ Now once more set up among the fragments of this work, re-erected in the loggia of the Palazzo Pubblico by Comm. Corrado Ricci, on the occasion of the Mostra dell'Arte Antica at Siena in 1904.



Photo: Alinari.

STATUE OF RHEA SILVIA.

BY GIACOMO DELLA QUERCIA.

FROM THE FONTE GAIA, SIENA.

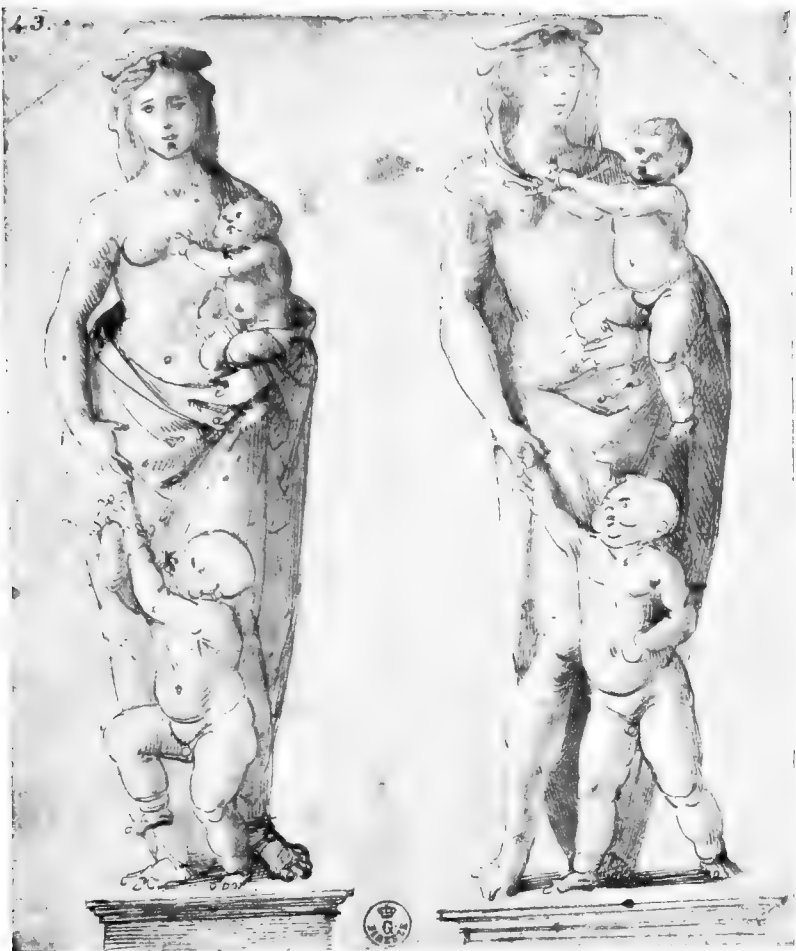
To face p. 6



STATUE OF ACCA LAURENTIA.

BY GIACOMO DELLA QUERCIA

FROM THE FONTE GAIA, SIENA.



STUDIES FROM THE FOREGOING STATUES.

BY BAZZI.

UFFIZI, FLORENCE.

and the well-known "*Charitas*" in the Royal Gallery at Berlin; and she has, moreover, drawn attention to a drawing in the Uffizi collection (Case 243, No. 43) attributed to that master. This drawing is so evidently the reproduction of an *already existing work*, and not a first sketch, that the conviction of actually holding in our hands one of the counts of Vasari's indictment is borne in upon us; and that this very drawing is one of those studies, in connection with which our young friend is so severely taken to task. Contessa Priuli Bon¹ also suggests, with some show of reason, that the collection of casts, etc., known to have been in our artist's possession,² may also have included copies of portions of this famous work of art.

Of the pictures known to have been painted at this period, two recorded by Della Valle³ have, alas! disappeared. In his account of the work of Antonio Barili, quoting Alfonso Landi,⁴ he

¹ Contessa Priuli-Bon, *Sodoma* (Great Masters Series). London: George Bell & Sons, 1900, pp. 10-11.

² Monsignore Giovanni Bottari, *Lettere Pittoriche*, vol. v., No. 42: *P. Trappolini a Messer Alessandro Corvini*: Milano, Giovanni Silvestri, 1822; also *Lettere Facete, etc.*, collected by Francesco Turchi: Venezia, 1601. Cf. also *Nuovi Documenti cit.*, p. 526, No. 273. APPENDIX No. 32.

³ Della Valle, *Op. cit.*, vol. iii. pp. 328-30.

⁴ Della Valle and Landi, *Op. cit.*: "Del medesimo artifice nella Gallerià del Signor Pandolfo Savini vi è un ornamento lavorato in noce fatto ad un quadro di Gio. Antonio detto il Sodoma, alto più di tre braccia e largo braccia uno e mezzo, nel quale è rappresentata la Vergine con idea, e volto maestosissimo, col suo Bambino tutto nudo in grembo, sopra modo delicato, e tenero, con S. Gio. Battista, parimente putto assai vezzoso, e abbracciato dalla Vergine col braccio destro, e con S. Giuseppe nella parte di sopra, del quale apparisce la testa con una mano con essa tenente un vaso. Questo quadro, per l' eccellenza sua è di valore grandissimo, ha un ornamento intorno lavorato da Antonio Barili, è in forma rotonda di sopra, e di sotto, e in piano."

describes fully two pictures painted to the order of the Savini, for which Barili carved sumptuous frames. The first of these paintings was 3 braccia high by $1\frac{1}{2}$ wide, and "represented the Virgin with a most majestic mien and countenance; her Child nude on her lap, delicate and tender beyond measure, with S. John the Baptist, an equally charming child encircled by the Virgin's right arm, and with S. Joseph above, whose head and one hand holding a vase, alone are visible." Milanesi¹ tells us that the frame was made in 1501. The painting would therefore be one of the very earliest of Bazzi's Sienese performances. We read in this chronicle that it remained for a long time in the Palazzo Savini, but was sold out of the country by the widow of Guido Savini, the last of his name, for 120 scudi (60 zecchini).

The other picture painted for the same family, with a frame carved by the same skilful craftsman,² was 2 braccia high by $1\frac{3}{4}$ wide. Here "the Virgin is also seated with her nude Infant in her lap; the Child is receiving the adoration of the juvenile S. John the Baptist, with a cross clasped to his breast.

¹ Vasari, *Op. cit.*, p. 396, note 3.

² Della Valle & Landi, *Op. cit.*: "Nella medesima galleria v'è un'altra pittura del medesimo Sodoma in quadro, alto braccia due, largo braccia uno, e tre quarti. In essa si rappresenta la Vergine sedente col Bambino nudo in braccio, il quale sedente mostra di voler ricever ossequio da S. Gio. Battista, parimente fanciullo, che mostra di riverire Cristo Bambino, stante con le mani in croce appoggiate al petto. Sopra a S. Gio. Battista apparisce Santa Caterina da Siena in busto, e con le mani gionte, tra le quali ha un giglio, & a rincontro comparisce una testa di S. Giuseppe. L'ornamento di questo quadro è fattura del medesimo Barili. . . ."

Vasari (*Op. cit.*, p. 396) refers to one of these pictures as having been painted for Messer Enea Savini dalla Costerella, and adds that it was *molto lodato*. Which of the two he means we cannot now say.



Lancaster photo

Head of the Madonna.

Secreto "Nativity"—Siena.

Above are seen the bust of S. Catherine of Siena, with hands folded holding a lily, and on the opposite side S. Joseph." This picture has also disappeared.

Critics likewise place certain other panels within this period ; but before proceeding with our historical narrative, we would here draw attention to two paintings, both now preserved in the Accademia delle Belle Arti at Siena, and both almost certainly painted before 1503.

One of these (No. 512), a *tondo*, once in the Hermitage at Leccetto, three miles outside the Porta S. Marco of the city, represents the *Nativity*. The Magi are approaching from a distance, while the shepherds are seen through an opening in the wall behind. The point most worthy of remark in this picture is, that,—*pace* the very Leonardesque head of the angel supporting the Infant S. John, which in this respect strikes a discordant note,¹—the whole work is curiously Tuscan in sentiment and feeling. The composition and certain details, such as the broken wall behind the kneeling Virgin, so vividly recall the work of Lorenzo di Credi, that Jansen² even goes so far as to attribute to Bazzi a picture (No. 439) in the Villa Borghese in Rome, which, in spite of superficial points of similarity, is obviously not by our artist, but by Di Credi himself, or one of his disciples.³ The adoption of

¹ Padre Luigi de Angelis in his *Ragguaglio del Nuovo Istituto delle Belle Arti* (Siena, 1816) suggests that he sees in the angel's head a portrait of Bazzi himself as a youth.

² Jansen, *Op. cit.*, p. 45.

³ Two other *Nativities* by Bazzi do, in their composition as well as in their form, directly recall this very painting.

They are : (a) *A Nativity* with two angels, once in the Palazzo Chigi-

the *tondo* or circular form of painting, common in Tuscany and Umbria, is also worth observing.

The other picture is the *Descent from the Cross*, which even forced the admiration of Vasari himself; who, nevertheless, it may be observed, chronicles it at the wrong epoch of Bazzi's life,—*i.e.*, subsequent to his return from Rome, and even after the award of the title of *Cavalier*. Some critics¹ for this reason would wish to set the date of this picture in 1513; but Milanese² very rightly points out that the somewhat more restrained (*castigata*) manner of the painting altogether defeats this contention. The picture, removed to the Academy in 1862, was painted for the altar of the Cinuzzi family chapel in S. Francesco, and narrowly escaped destruction in the great conflagration which occurred in that church on August 24th, 1655; when works by Raphael, Perugino, Pinturicchio and Bazzi himself perished.

References to this painting recur frequently. Sigismondo Tizio³ in 1513 writes as follows:—

“Tabulam nihilominus Ioannis Antonii Vercellensis, quem Leo Pontifex equitem creaverat in S. Francesco

Zondadari, Siena, but now in the possession of Capt. Holford, Dorchester House, Park Lane, London.

(b) *A Nativity* with one angel, once in the Galleria Scarpa at Motta di Livenza, and there attributed to Cesare da Sesto. Now in the possession of Cav. Avv. Antonio Borgogna of Vercelli. See *ante*, p. 52.

¹ Herr Karl Schuchhardt, *Jahrbuch der Koniglichen Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, vol. xviii., 1897, and Prof. Pietro Rossi, *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

² Vasari, *Op. cit.*, p. 388, note 1: “Vogliono alcuni che fosse dipinta nel 1513: ma a noi pare, dalla maniera più minuta e più castigata, e dall'ordine stesso della composizione, che si debba riportare innanzi al tempo delle pitture di Mont' Oliveto.”

³ Tizio, *Op. cit.*, 1513. Cf. also Vittorio Lusini, *La Storia della Basilica di S. Francesco in Siena*: Siena, Tip. S. Bernardino, 1894, p. 174; and Luigi De Angelis, *La Vita del B. Pietro Pettinaio*: Siena, 1802, p. 128.

THE "DESCENT FROM THE CROSS" 71

post Bernardini (*il Pinturicchio*) et Petri (*il Perugino*) tabulam, in qua Christus de Cruce depositus, aiunt cum propinquis decertare posset, cum placeat multis. . . ."

Mancini¹ says:—

" . . . il Sig. Annibale Caracci avendo visto in Siena, le cose di questo nostro, ed in particolare nel duomo l'altare della Madonna a man destra, e quel deposto di Croce in S. Francesco, mi disse esser grandissimo maestro, e di buonissimo gusto, e che di simili se ne vederno poche, dolendosi appresso di non essere andato a Chiusure, dove aveva di poi inteso esser molte cose di quest' uomo ; e del suo tempo migliore. Solo aggiungo, che il Vasari ha preso l' invenzione del deposto di S. Agnolino da quel del Sodoma, in S. Francesco. . . ."

In a report of a pastoral visitation conducted by Monsignore Francesco Bossio, Apostolic Visitor, in 1575, it is thus described:—

" Icona vero erat multum magnifica cum misterio depositionis a Cruce D. N. Jesu Christi, et ornatis columnis marmoreis auro elaboratis."

Can. Lusini, having consulted the original document preserved in the ARCHIVIO DELLA CURIA ARCIVESCOVILE, writes as follows:—

" But beyond this, we come to a new wonder over the altar of the Cinuzzi, covered with a frontal of white silk (brocade ?), the panel of the *Deposition of Christ from the Cross*, painted with all the force of sentiment and

¹ Mancini, *Op. cit.*, p. 37 ; cf. also L.V. 12, p. 73, and *Renvoglianti Miscellanea cit.*, pp. 252-6. Cf. De Angelis, *Op. cit.*, p. *cit.*, who caustically adds the following words to his quotation of this passage: " Non è dunque maraviglia, che si degni il Sig. Vasari nelle sue Vite dopo avergli fatto tal furto ec. chiamarlo il Mattaccio."

mastery of art possessed by that great artist Giovanni Antonio Bazzi. . . . That architectural decoration raised upon graceful and elegant columns touched up with gilded tracery, worthily frames Sodoma's great work."¹

From the same writer² we learn that the owner of the chapel was one Giugurta Cinuzzi. The altar was the fifth in a row of nine on the right-hand side on entering the church; and it stood between that dedicated to S. Girolamo de' Vieri, over which hung a painting by Perugino, and the Sergardi family altar, whereon stood a work by Pinturicchio, with a predella by Raphael. Exactly opposite, on the other side of the church, was another work by Bazzi. All these treasures perished in the fire.

As a piece of painting this *Deposition* is magnificent in colour and power. We cannot fail to admire the separate groups, especially that of the Virgin and the holy women around her. Even Vasari is pleased to commend this group, which may be profitably studied side by side with a much later composition by Bazzi—*i.e.* the *Swooning of S. Catherine*,—where a similar attitude of a fainting woman supported by her companions is reproduced once more. But he is perhaps more impressed by the somewhat meretricious trick of making mirrors

¹ Lusini, *Op. cit.*, p. 124. "Ma più oltre si, che v'ha una nuova meraviglia sull' altare dei Cinuzzi, coperto di davanzale bianco di seta bertina. C'è la tavola della Deposizione di Gesù dalla Croce, dipinta con tutta la forza del sentimento, e la maestria dell' arte da quel grande che fu Giovanni Antonio Bazzi. . . . Quell' ornato architettonico levato su gentili ed eleganti colonne, ravvivavate dalle lumeggiature d' oro, incornicia degnamente il gran lavoro del Sodoma."

² Lusini, *Op. cit.*, pp. 175-88.



Ph. Lombardi.

THE SWOONING VIRGIN.
DETAIL FROM THE "DEPOSITION."
SIENA ACADEMY.



Photo. Lombardi.

TWO LEGIONARIES.
DETAIL FROM THE SAME.

of the soldier's armour.¹ The two legionaries are exceedingly fine and powerfully drawn. The figure with his back turned to the spectator has been said to be Bazzi's own portrait,² but if we are correct as to the date of the picture, this is obviously impossible. The landscape is charming and thoroughly consonant with our artist's Lombard training; and the most careful attention to detail is a prominent characteristic, proving once more that Bazzi could take pains if he pleased. The small paintings on the predella—*Scenes from the Passion*—are inferior productions, probably by another hand.

Now, if we reckon in our minds all the pictures—of which we have here alluded to the most important only—that may reasonably be assigned to the years between our artist's arrival in Siena (be that 1500 or 1501) and the date at which he betook himself to S. Anna in Creta,—*i.e.* during the month of July 1503,—we can scarcely agree with Vasari that his time was spent in idleness. Up to this time we hear of no pupils or assistants, and Vasari himself expressly states that he worked *alone*. Bazzi could not, therefore, have found such an

¹ The compiler of the *Raccolta delle più celebri Pitture esistenti nella Città di Siena, disegnate ed incise da valenti artisti* (Firenze: Niccolò Pagni, 1825), notices the following reflections in the armour of the soldier:—

- (1) The figure of himself in the helmet on the ground.
- (2) That of his companion talking to him.
- (3) The group of holy women mirrored in his cuirass under his left arm.

Della Valle indicates as the Magdalen the woman with the fillet across her forehead, leaning over the Madonna; not the woman who stands beside the cross.

² Schuchhardt, *Op. cit.*

extraordinary amount of leisure in which to amuse himself, if he managed in this brief space of his life to execute all the work with which contemporary authorities and the discoveries of modern research have, with considerable show of reason, credited him.

CHAPTER IV

EARLY FRESCOES AND PAINTINGS

THE year 1503 is marked by a covenant entered into by Bazzi, with Fra Andrea Cossa (or Coscia), a Neapolitan monk, "*cellerario*" or steward of the small Olivetan community of S. Anna in Camprena (or Creta), to decorate the walls of the refectory.¹

Vasari, with his habitual disregard of chronology, sets this work posterior in order of date to the great achievement at Monte Oliveto Maggiore²; and, moreover, mentions *one* only among the frescoes executed here.³ The learned Olivetan Father, Don Placido Lugano,⁴ has discovered and printed *in extenso* the original document from the Archives of the Convent⁵; which, indeed, not only lays the question of priority finally to rest, but also

¹ The late M. Eugene Müntz says (*Histoire de l'Art pendant la Renaissance*: Paris, Hachette et Cie, 1895, vol. iii. p. 518) that Bazzi was invited to S. Anna in Creta by the Abbot, Tommaso Pallavicini.

² It is difficult to understand this, since, although it is possible *that Vasari never went to Monte Oliveto Maggiore at all*, he certainly stayed some months at S. Anna in Creta in 1530-31 with his friend, Don Miniato Pitti.

³ It is to be observed that Vasari, in speaking of Bazzi's Farnesina work, also only recalls *two* of the frescoes,—i.e. *The Marriage of Alexander and Roxana* and *Vulcan at his Forge*.

⁴ Placido Lugano, *Il "Sodoma" e i suoi affreschi a Sant' Anna in Camprena presso Pienza*. (*Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria*, Anno IX., fasc. ii., 1902.)

⁵ R. ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI FIRENZE. *Archivio del Patrimonio Ecclesiastico, Pienza*, A. CCCIX., vols. i.-ii. (461), fol. 18 bis. APPENDIX No. 7.

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casts doubts upon another of Vasari's statements. The biographer would have us believe that Bazzi's introduction to the Olivetan Monks,—an Order for whom he laboured at various epochs of his life, and in more than one monastery,—was due to the favour or partiality of their General, Fra Domenico da Lecco (a Lombard, and in a sense his fellow-countryman); and that it was persuasion and flattery brought to bear upon this ecclesiastic, which acted as an inducement to him to engage our artist for the completion of the work commenced, but afterwards abandoned, by Luca Signorelli.¹ This document, however, shows that, of the three friars, witnesses to the agreement, one was a native of Milan, and another, Fra Bartolommeo, had actually come from the town of Vercelli. Far more probable that these monks were the channel through which the introduction was obtained; and success at S. Anna almost certainly acted as a spur for the more important commission at the Mother House.

The Convent of S. Anna in Camprena, after many vicissitudes now the summer residence of the Bishops of Chiusi and Pienza, lies somewhat remote from the highway, about five miles from the latter city. The monastery, founded in 1324 by Donna Ugucia, wife of Ramezio Ragnoni, a Sienese patrician, was at first neither an imposing nor an extensive pile. Time, however, added importance to the edifice, and a large chapel,—now

¹ *Scenes from the Life of S. Benedict* in the great cloister. That Vasari, if he ever visited Monte Oliveto Maggiore, could have had but a hazy recollection of what he saw, is proved by his statement (*Op. cit.*, vol. iii. p. 689) that Signorelli painted *eleven* of these; whereas, as a matter of fact, he only executed *ten*.

the parish church,—was built. To this structure a cloister was added at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, from the designs of Fra Paolo da Recco, an Olivetan of Genoese origin, whose multifarious labours at the Mother Abbey were much esteemed; and included magnificent intarsia panelling and carved wood stalls (since destroyed) for the refectory, which Bazzi's frescoes subsequently adorned.

Padre Luganor not only brought to light the original instrument commissioning this work, dated July 10th, 1503;¹ but also a notice of the same in a Summary,²—prefixed to a volume of the Convent Records,—obviously compiled many years (perhaps centuries) later; and last, but not least, the entry of a payment of 21 ducat (= 147 lire or thereabouts) on June 25th, 1504; thus affording evidence that the artist spent nearly a year at work upon these frescoes.

These paintings depict *Scenes from the Gospels*, the *Life of the Virgin*, and the *History of the Olivetan Order*. They cover six large divisions: three at either end of a long room. These are connected by a frieze running along the side walls at a certain height, beneath which the stalls mentioned above were originally placed. The frieze on the right-hand wall under the windows is entirely

¹ This document, though much injured and torn across, is still very legible.

² ARCHIVI detti, etc., *Sommario, Lettera P (Pittura)*, pp. 51-2. It is to be noticed that in this summary the painter is styled *Maestro Giovan Antonio da Vergelle*, showing that it must have been written long after, by some one who favoured the Sienese rather than the Lombard origin of the artist.

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obliterated: not a surprising circumstance, since the refectory floor lies several feet below the level of the garden outside. Moreover, since this room at one time served the purposes of the peasant-custodian, as a woodshed and tool-house, it is wonderful indeed that any portion of the work should have survived. The frieze opposite the windows is cruelly injured and partially defaced in places. Damaged though it be, the work cannot fail to interest the student, as the earliest example of that fanciful *arabesque* work, in which Bazzi delighted, and achieved so great a measure of distinction. The scenes from the *Life of the Virgin*, painted in monochrome panels, alternate with portrait-busts of Benedictine Saints. Three of these portraits are still in a tolerable state of preservation, and it is well worth the student's while to compare that of *S. Scholastica* with a very similar presentment of this saint by Boltraffio, to be found in the gallery of the Nuns' Choir at S. Maurizio (Monastero Maggiore) at Milan.

The wall at the upper end of the room is filled by a single vast composition in three divisions, depicting the *Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes*: the *one* fresco, be it noted, mentioned by Vasari. This large painting, though not altogether satisfactory, nevertheless abounds in charming details. The injuries due to damp—especially in the left-hand corner of the composition—doubtless tend in a not inconsiderable degree to diminish our appreciation of the fresco. The Saviour's mien, though of a tender cast, is very impressive; but in some of the other figures Bazzi already exhibits at this early period of his art that inclination

towards the somewhat sensuous types of beauty, which marks his later development. We may observe with interest that, in spite of the too-apparent traces of careless painting throughout, the limbs of the principal figures are all drawn underneath their robes with great precision. This is one of the most notable characteristics of our painter's methods, showing how solidly the foundations of his artistic training had been laid. The forms appear as though they were clothed in one garment only; every detail of the anatomy being visible to a degree almost bordering on the grotesque. A stripling in the left-hand panel presents an oft-recurring type, and his wreath of roses suggests Tuscan influences; whilst the peculiar swathed head-band of the woman in the corresponding lateral panel reappears at frequent intervals in Bazzi's later compositions. We may also notice the quaint baskets; in shape and size identical with those still in use at the present day.

Here for the first time we find the artist importing into his landscape the well-known ruins of Ancient Rome: the *Arch of Constantine*, for instance, behind the central group, and in the right-hand panel, the *Colosseum*. Don Placido observes that MM. G. B. de Rossi¹ and A. Geffroy² have drawn particular attention to this noteworthy

¹ G. B. de Rossi, *Di un affresco del Sodoma nel chiostro di Monte Oliveto Maggiore rappresentante una prospettiva del foro romano* (*Buletino dell' Istituto della Corrispondenza*, 1887, p. 150).

² A. Geffroy, *Une vue inédite de Rome en 1459*; G. B. de Rossi, *Supplément aux Mélanges d'Archéol. et d'Histoire*, tom. xii., Rome, 1892, p. 380.

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fact; and that the former recalls the existence of a now rare work, entitled *Antiquarie prospettiche Romane*, which enjoyed an extensive circulation in artistic circles at the end of the fifteenth century. Since at that time Bazzi had not as yet visited Rome, it is clear that he must somehow have become acquainted with this work,—perhaps in the studio of Leonardo da Vinci,—and through such means the interest and attention of the “idle apprentice” were evidently awakened in an unusual degree to the study of antique remains, rendering him henceforth the willing slave of classical influences. This tendency may be discerned in the frequent recurrence of similar buildings throughout his work. The fresco exhibits strongly marked traces of the two influences, Tuscan and Lombard, then dominant in the young artist’s mind; and there is no doubt that the conflict between these two is responsible for the unsatisfying preliminary impression, that so disturbs the spectator’s appreciation and judgment.

The entrance occupies the centre of the wall at the lower end of the room, and a very beautiful, though somewhat archaic *Head of Christ* adorns the inside of its arched lintel.

A *Pietà*, surmounting this doorway, is so Umbrian in sentiment, design and expression, that several of the figures—notably that of S. John—might well, we would fancy, have been delineated by a scholar of Perugino.

A group, representing S. Anne, enthroned on a high chair, with the Madonna seated below, supporting the Holy Child on her knee, fills the lateral



Photo: Lombardi.

HEAD OF THE MAGDALEN.
DETAIL FROM THE "PIETÀ."
S ANNA IN CRETA.

panel to the left. Two Olivetan monks, to one of whom the Child is offering a small bird, kneel on either side. The scene is enacted under a pillared portico, whence we behold a view of the open country beyond. The face of the Infant Christ has been entirely obliterated; although the delightfully ingenuous sentiment of the picture has survived. The treatment of the subject is reminiscent of the *Sacred Genealogies*, of which we have already spoken at some length.

In the panel to the right, a Bishop, attended by six Olivetan brethren, is seen seated under a somewhat similar loggia, with a handsome coffered ceiling. Several opinions have been put forward concerning this personage. Milanese¹ calls him S. Bernard; Brogi² and Frizzoni³ describe him as "*un santo Vescovo*"; whilst the author of the *Cento Città d'Italia*⁴ avers that the figure stands for Guido Tarlatti, the Warrior-Bishop of Arezzo, approving the Olivetan *Rule*. A single glance, however, at the text of the agreement commissioning this work proves beyond question that the painting represents "*our father S. Benedict*" with his Brethren; some of whom are evidently portrayed from living models.

We desire to lay particular stress here upon the care that this instrument evinces in defining the artist's duties; and we would emphasize the condition that he was ordered to paint *portraits from*

¹ Vasari, *Op. cit.*, p. 384, note 2.

² F. Brogi, *Inventario Generale degli Oggetti d'Arte della Provincia di Siena*. Siena: C. Naya, 1897, p. 18.

³ Frizzoni, *Op. cit.*, p. 112.

⁴ *Cento Città d'Italia*. Milano: Sonzogno, 31 Ottobre, 1899.

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life. This ability¹ upon the painter's part may have formed one of his special qualifications for employment; and, having been so successful on the present occasion, he doubtless continued the practice in subsequent commissions, thereby investing the creatures of his fancy with a semblance of reality otherwise unattainable. The agreement likewise stipulates for an assistant (*garzone*), but the records of S. Anna afford no clue regarding the pupil or pupils employed there.

A curious observation would here not be out of place: namely, how authors follow one another, like sheep, without reflection, and spring lightly to conclusions that not unfrequently prove totally unwarranted. Padre della Valle² suggests that Bazzi in this instance derived his architectural inspiration from the Pinturicchio frescoes in the *Libreria* of Siena Cathedral: a statement which proved a snare for successive experts until Dr. Julius Meyer³ pointed out the fallacy of this theory. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle⁴ have shown that, despite Pinturicchio's commission bearing date June 29th, 1502, and the commencement of the work in 1503, when the ceiling was completed the death of Pius III., on October 19th of that year, caused the total cessation, and divers untoward circumstances prevented the renewal of operations, until 1506. By that date the Monte

¹ Vasari, *Op. cit.*, vol. v. p. 635: "particolarmente in fare ritratti di naturale."

² Della Valle, *Op. cit.*, p. 257.

³ Dr. Julius Meyer, *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexicon*. Berlin, 1885.

⁴ J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle, *History of Painting in Italy*, vol. iii. pp. 281-3. London: John Murray, 1866.

Oliveto frescoes, begun in 1505, were well on their way towards completion ; while those at S. Anna were commenced two years earlier still. Unless therefore Bazzi had seen Pinturicchio's cartoons,—a mere suggestion unsupported by proof,—his work can in nowise have been influenced by that of the elder artist. The cause for the resemblance is, as Dr. Meyer points out, not far to seek. Both artists had been trained to work from the same architectural models : both had been brought into direct contact with the same influence : namely, that of Bramante, whose decorative effects are designed precisely in the same style, and whose action upon most of his contemporaries,—be they painters or sculptors,—is clearly perceptible. The work of the Piedmontese and Lombard painters abound in these *loggie*, these coffered ceilings, and these galleries from which children (*putti*) hang garlands of flowers ; and Bazzi, before journeying south, must have been well acquainted with what may almost be described as the “ sealed pattern ” in sacred architecture. In this reference we need only compare the background of Luini's fresco of the *Presentation in the Temple*, in the Votive Church (*Santuario*) of the Madonna delle Grazie at Saronno, with that of S. *Benedict* here ; while any number of similar examples could easily be produced from other places.¹ Nevertheless, the Umbrian element, so apparent in much of Bazzi's early work, can only have been acquired from an older master,

¹ The great *ancona* at Turin, by Macrino d'Alba, is a good example both of the Bramantesque architecture and of the scalloped *canopy* to which we have already referred.

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for whom he probably entertained both considerable regard and respectful friendship. The possibility therefore that he may have seen the cartoons designed by Pinturicchio for his Libreria work is by no means excluded ; but it appears unnecessary to promote such a suggestion to the rank of a working hypothesis, when the solution of the problem can be so much more logically found elsewhere.

None of the authorities on Bazzi have so far accorded adequate consideration to the circumstance that *one* year at least separated our artist's commissions at the two Monasteries of S. Anna and Monte Oliveto Maggiore. The date of the last payment,—presumably for completed work at the former,—is June 25th,¹ 1504, whilst the first entry in the books of the Mother-Abbey does not occur until August 10th, 1505. This renders the conjecture almost a certainty, that some at least of the work hitherto assigned to the period prior to 1503 was actually executed during this hitherto unnoticed space of fourteen months. We would therefore deem this the most fitting occasion to speak of a group of paintings, concerning which a vast amount of speculation has been rife ; and which from their resemblance, justly pointed out by Herr Karl Schuchhardt,² were probably all three

¹ ARCHIVI detti, etc., vol. xxiv. (31) fol. 49, An. 1504. (Entrata ed Uscita.)

"*Item a di 25 di Gugnio, dato a Maestro Giovanj Ant° de Verzelli dipintore per integro pagamento de opere à fato a dipingere el refetoro, e per l'oro e colori avea posto del suo, ducati ventuno larghi d'oro in oro : L. 144*" (sic).

² Karl Schuchhardt, *Op. cit.*



Photo: Hanfstaengl.

CHARITAS.

ROYAL MUSEUM, BERLIN.

To face p. 85.

painted at the same time: possibly in the course of this particular year. These are: the *Judith* in the Siena Academy, the *Lucretia* in the Kestner Museum at Hanover, and the *Charitas* in the Royal Gallery at Berlin. Since these pictures are almost of a size; in details bear a close similitude to each other; and might furthermore, through but a very slight stretch of the imagination, even be held to symbolise the three Cardinal Virtues: *Faith*, Fidelity to her Marriage Vow, *Lucretia*; *Hope*, the Saviour of her besieged fellow-citizens, *Judith*; and *Charity*, *Charitas*;—it would seem not unlikely that they formed part of an Allegorical Cycle: companion paintings for some nobleman's palace, possibly that of the tyrant Pandolfo Petrucci.¹ This last proposition is put forward by Schuchhardt; despite his rejection altogether of the *Charitas* as the work of Bazzi, and his proposal to date all these pictures somewhat later: *i.e.* after the Monte Oliveto work.

Schuchhardt's reasoning with regard to the S. Anna and Monte Oliveto frescoes is well worthy of careful attention. He very pertinently compares the similitude in type² and in landscape³ of both

¹ The fabric of the Palazzo del Capitano was completed about 1504, though the decorations of the interior continued for several years later.

² Schuchhardt very truly points out that the combination of *Judith* and *Lucretia* was by no means uncommon among Renaissance painters, German and Dutch as well as Italian.

³ Cf. Morelli (*Della Pittura Italiana cit.*, p. 150, note 1), who tells us that, according to Vasari, Bazzi, Cesare da Sesto, and Gianpetrino all studied landscape from the same source—namely, under Bernazzano, a landscape painter of renown in his day. Vasari, however, mentions Bernazzano in connexion with Cesare da Sesto only (*Op. cit.*, vol. v. p. 101), and there is no direct evidence to support this proposition as regards Bazzi.

series with parallel details in the "Allegorical Cycle"; but he looks upon the frescoes as leading up to the "Allegories." He even goes so far as to suggest that the very seductive and charming figure in the *Temptation of the Monks* at the latter convent, is an ideal sketch for the *Lucretia*. Let us reverse the argument. The S. Anna frescoes, he says, exhibit elemental characteristics similar to those of the three female figures; characteristics that have ripened and developed in the later series. Why should we not, then, place the "Allegories" between the two cycles of fresco-paintings? However clearly they may manifest the signs of maturer genius, they cannot surely be dated much later than the Monte Oliveto work? Might we not suggest rather that the dancing figure, instead of constituting a *delineation for*, or *forecast of*, is in point of fact *the completed evolution of the Lucretia Ideal*?

The German critic goes on to describe the affinity between these paintings and the *Deposition* already described; which, as we have observed, all the modern experts—except himself, and recently Prof. Rossi¹—would now date earlier than the S. Anna undertaking. Might not the *Deposition* be assigned to this year also, and the predella-paintings, which are without doubt of inferior workmanship, be that of the *garzone* above referred to? Since Bazzi spent barely one year at S. Anna, no notable change in his style need be expected.

There likewise existed at this period, we are told, in the Church of S. Francesco at Siena, a

¹ Rossi, *Op. cit.*, p. 10,

*Christ bearing His Cross.*¹ This painting actually perished—or is said to have perished—in the great fire on August 24th, 1655. Several authorities submit that the fragment of a similar painting, now in the possession of Count Costa de Beauregard at Chambéry, and described in great detail by P. Bruzza,² may perhaps be a surviving relic of this once far-famed work. This suggestion, however, as Faccio³ points out, falls to the ground, since the inscription on the panel, while erroneous

¹ Some confusion of ideas appears to prevail concerning this picture. Della Valle (*Op. cit.*, tom. iii. p. 275) writes that "Oltre a queste opere dipinse in Siena per la Chiesa di S. Francesco la storia dell' *Invenzione della Croce, un Cristo che porta la Croce*, la quale tavola a' tempi del Mancini era nella Cappella del Cardinale Salviati." This description appears to point to the existence of more than one subject included in the same composition: and an anonymous MS., contemporary with the fire in 1655, again refers to it as a *tavola*. Canonico Lusini (*Op. cit.*, p. 127), however, quotes from the report of Mgr. Bossio's Visitation, referred to already, as follows: "*figura S. Helenæ in muro depicta; et in medio aderat crux aenea magna.*" From the same author we learn that this work adorned the altar of the Buoninsegni (not Buonsignori) family, and we read in De Angelis (*Op. cit.*, p. 126, note 3) that the chapel at the time of Mancini belonged to Cardinal Salviati. Mancini (*Op. cit.*) further informs us that a *Way of the Cross*, by Bazzi, from the Chapel of the "Palace" of Cardinal Salviati, was in his time in the possession of a family of tailors of the name of *Fedeli*. De Angelis adds that, after the fire, Antonio Nasini painted another *Invention of the Cross*, into which was introduced a figure of *S. Pietro d' Alcantara*.

² Bruzza, *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

³ Faccio, *Op. cit.*, p. 77. The inscription runs thus:

IO AN. CAVALER
DE VERCEI 1500
CŮ DESTRVCTA
FVISSET MASERIVS
REPARAVIT 1541.

The restorer might have made mistakes over the dates of the painter's history, but hardly,—unless the whole inscription is a forgery,—in that of his own restorative work. The only other solution to satisfy the proposition is that the previous inscription refers to an older restoration prior to the fire in 1655.

also in part, distinctly sets forth that the painting was restored by one *Maserius* in 1541.

A concatenation of circumstances, concerning which our information is but scanty, led the steps of our hero to the convent of Monte Oliveto Maggiore, near Chiusuri; where the month of August 1505 found him at work for the monks. The presumption is legitimate that, the fame of his genius having gone forth, his employment had been assured by fair and just means, rather than by arts of flattery successfully exercised, as Vasari¹ would have us believe, upon the then General of the Order. Frizzoni² quotes the following important passage from the Convent chronicles (vol. i. p. 45): *Secunda abbatia eius sui* (Domenico Airoidi of Lecco) *electione* (i.e., from May 16th, 1497, to April 11th, 1501) *claustrum magni intercolumnia in dextera ingressus monasterii parte posita, quae occidentalem respiciunt plagam, eo auctore, mira et arte et impensa a celeberrimis pictoribus depicta fuere. Et reliqua claustrum intercolumnia simili opere exornasset nisi pictorum necessitatus obstitisset discessus.* These painters can only have been Signorelli, and an unknown craftsman,—perhaps an assistant,—of whose inferior compositions some figures on the pillars opposite the master's work are all that remain. Signorelli was called away to Orvieto in 1498, but the chronicle takes up the tale as follows: *Habita tamen hac tertia ejus electione* (anno 1505, idibus aprilis) *aliquanta et temporis*

¹ Vasari, *Op. cit.*, p. 381.

² Frizzoni, *Op. cit.*, pp. 113, 114. Cf. also "*Guida Artistica della Città e contorni di Siena.*" Siena: Tip. Sordo-Muti, 1883, p. 184.



Fresco: Lombardi.

THE BROKEN CRIBBLE.
 SCENE FROM THE LIFE OF S. BENEDICT.
 MONTE OLIVETO MAGGIORE.

intercapedine et pecuniarum commoditate . . . incoeptum, ut sapientis est, tandem opus complere decrevit. Et orientalem meridionalemque claustrum partem, etsi diverso pictore, haud tamen inferiore pictura, decoravit. Et nisi pictoris incuria adfuisset, universum, ut optabat, jam jam perfectum esset opus. This passage can only be construed as an allusion to Bazzi's dilatory methods. It would seem to infer also that the delay in completing the decoration of the cloister arose in part from want of money, and in part from the fact that Fra Domenico was not occupying the abbatial chair between the years 1501 and 1505.

Legends innumerable in connection with this undertaking have sprung up and flourished in luxuriant growth around Bazzi's doubtless somewhat exuberant personality and conduct. The most absurd, perhaps, is that recorded in all seriousness by Della Valle,¹ to the effect that the figure of a youth beside the painter's portrait in the scene of *The Broken Cribble*, whose semblance recurs continually throughout the series, is the presentment of his own wife, Beatrice de' Galli, "*vestita*," says the excellent father, "*alla Spartana*." Dom Gregoire Thomas, in his work, *L'Abbaye de Mont-Olivet-Majeur*,² strays even farther along the path of unbridled fancy, and calls the boy, whom

¹ Della Valle, *Op. cit.*, p. 258. He adds the quotation :

"*Nudo genu, nodoque sinus collecte fluentes.*"

Virgil, *Aeneid*, Lib. I., line 324. He also states that a Madonna depicted in the General's apartments is another portrait of the same lady.

² Dom Gregoire Thomas, *L'Abbaye de Mont-Olivet-Majeur*. Florence: Le Monnier, 1881. (This mistake is repeated, we regret to be compelled to state, by the writer of the latest Guide to the Convent.)

the youth is leading by the hand, *Bazzi's daughter Faustina* "*who married master Riccio.*" These worthy clerics exhibit a fine disdain for chronology and the sequence of events; for whereas this fresco must have been completed between 1505 and 1508,¹ Bazzi was not married before June 1510, and Faustina was not born till August 1512. Another tale runs as follows: Bazzi, who told the General, (as Messer Giorgio asserts), that "his brush would only dance to the jingling of coin," while engaged upon the *Temptation of the Monks*, so exasperated his employer by his procrastination in completing and exhibiting the work, that at length, out of all patience, the General ordered the covering to be withdrawn forthwith. This unexpected action revealed all the principal figures in a state of nudity; and great was the horror and scandal of the monks at such "lewdness." Vasari relates this incident in terms of real or feigned indignation, condemning Bazzi's conduct as an act of the grossest indecency, devised with *malice prepense*. Now, a few moments' reflection should suffice to show that, far from constituting a breach of decorum, worthy of the strongest reprobation, the nude figures were in reality greatly to the painter's credit, and would entitle him to special encomium. They showed all beholders the care with which the artist,—in

¹ It is on May 5th, 1505, that the entry occurs in the books recording the gift to the painter of the handsome garments, in which he has represented himself; and which had belonged to the newly-received brother, Fra Giovanni Ambrogio da Milano. Probably the fresco was executed about that date. Most authorities speak of these garments as a *gift*, whereas the entries in the ledgers prove that they were *debited to his account*, and thus constituted into a *purchase*. Cf. p. 93, *post*,

obedience no doubt to his early training,—had first drawn all the figures in this great composition undraped. This view is further supported by the circumstance, pointed out by Don Luigi Perego,¹ that, had the figures been *completed* nude, and were their clothing an afterthought, as Vasari avers, the action of time would long ere this have removed the overlaying coat of paint, and the figures in their original condition would have reappeared to our view. In support of the above proposition, Padre Perego instances how in another fresco of the series a beard, painted on to the clean-shaven chin of one of the monks represented, is, through the action of the weather, coming away piecemeal, disclosing the earlier drawing underneath. The learned father suggests, as an explanation, that the artist effaced and repainted the entire dexter portion of the composition. We prefer to believe that Bazzi's procrastination and the General's impetuous haste revealed work actually incomplete, but sufficiently advanced to offend the scruples of holy men unacquainted with technical demands. Just a shade of credibility attaches to the theory that the painter may have desired to mark, by the very nudity of these lovely figures, the exceeding profligate intent of the wicked monk Fiorenzo;—a lesson, in monkish opinion, apparently of too strong a flavour. Be it observed, *S. Gregory's own words* in describing the event in *S. Benedict's Life* would bear out this argument and uphold our reading of the painter's ideal conception. The learned

¹ Don Luigi Perego, *Guida Illustrata di Monte Oliveto Maggiore*, Siena, 1903, pp. 113-14.

Saint says (cap. viii.): "Fiorenzo, not being able to kill the body" (as he had tried to do by poison, etc.), "endeavoured to destroy the soul. He sent therefore seven girls, who danced *naked* before the monks, and excited in their minds lewd thoughts." But, whatever the facts and the construction put upon them, the *bare suggestion* does not justify a reckless accusation of indecent proclivities upon the artist's part; whilst at all events we may rest assured that the consternation produced by the General's precipitancy would have afforded our lively friend unlimited scope for unholy mirth.

The historical character of our narrative does not admit of our giving a full description of the entire series of thirty-one paintings executed here by Bazzi in the three years from August 1505 to August 1508; but we may glean many interesting and even entertaining facts and hints from the study of the entries set down to his account in the Monastery ledgers.

We note, to commence with, many items concerning the animals he kept at the convent. Disbursements for stabling, oats, harness, shoeing, and even veterinary charges for his horse occur frequently. We mark besides two special notices of a contract entered into with the Abbot, to date from October 1506, for forage and the housing of this animal. We are told that this horse,—a dark bay (a favourite colour with our hero),—was called "the little dragon" (*el Draghetto*). We hear likewise of hens kept in the cloister by his "*garzone*" *Marchionne*; of purchases of barley; and of "*millet*

for the birds." In the fresco containing his portrait we make acquaintance with that most cherished of his possessions, the celebrated *talking raven*; besides a badger, some guinea-pigs, and one swan at least. There are numerous items of clothing supplied to him and his assistants: payments for black Florentine hose, material for shirts and doublets, the making and mending of shoes, and even a razor; whilst three separate entries refer to specially magnificent wearing apparel. Two of these concern the fine collection of garments belonging to the Milanese novice mentioned by Vasari,¹ in which we behold Giovan Antonio resplendent in fresco to this day;² attire for which he is debited with 35 gold ducats (= 245 lire) in the Monastery accounts. It is round entries of this kind that many piquant tales of our artist's extravagancies have no doubt been woven.

On the other hand proofs of his industry are not lacking either. Items such as *terra verde*, *giallolino*, and other materials for his work recur frequently; and more than once there appear entries of payment for three hundred sheets of gold leaf, gold paint, and for "round panels of wood" (*tondi di*

¹ Vasari, *Op cit.*, p. 383.

² ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI SIENA. *Libro d' Amministrazione dell' Archicenobio di Monte Oliveto Maggiore presso Chiusurri*. Segnato I.P. Item, a di cinque di magio hebbe una cappa, uno giubone di velluto, uno burrico di velluto negro. Item, uno paio di calze di pavonazo chiaro, una birretta negra, un cappello con la benda di seta, uno feltro da cavalcare, cioè uno gabbano, uno paio di scarpe di velluto, una spada, due camise lavorate, quali erano di fra Giovanni Ambrogio nostro frate et erano rimasti di accordo di prezzo di sapra dette cose et abia a pagare ducati d'oro trenta cinque, quali luy confessò havere havuti da me frate Evangelista da Viterbo celleraio. Cioè lire ducentò quarantacinque . . . Cioè L. 245. Cf. also APPENDIX No. 8.

legno), and the carriage thereof from Siena, showing that his work during his sojourn at Monte Oliveto was *not confined solely* to the painting of the frescoes. We notice, too, that meat is bought,—and once we read of “thrushes” purchased “*per li garzoni, et infermi et depentori*, or *per infermi, depentori e famiglie*”: proof that, if the monks’ fare was often of the plainest, their sick, their dependants, and their guests were not neglected. It is, however, worthy of remark in respect of these entries, that throughout the entire series of accounts, which are both prolix and somewhat confusing, owing to frequent reiteration of the same item, the name *Matazo* (presumably intended for *Mattaccio*) occurs but *once*, and that in the first entry. Should no weightier authority exist for Vasari’s assumption,¹ that Bazzi went generally by that name, we can only place the statement upon the same plane with his other far-fetched, and—as time has shown—unwarranted conclusions. Yet, while Vasari’s lead, unless corroborative evidence be forthcoming, is not one to be followed uncritically, we are bound to admit that, since at some time in 1530-31, according to that writer’s autobiography, he was the guest of Don Miniato Pitti (for that year “*Vicario*” of S. Anna in Camprena), he must at least be credited with the gift of picturesque representation of the celebrated artist’s “ploys” at the Mother House twenty-five years earlier. These had no doubt remained, and continued for many years subsequently, to be the solace and talk of conventual leisure hours. It is strange, though, that, having seen

¹ Vasari, *Op. cit.*, p. 399.

the frescoes at S. Anna, he should set down these works, and the more important cycle at Monte Oliveto Maggiore, in their wrong chronological order. It might be that most of the facts concerning them had reached him in garbled form even then, and were not cast into shape until many years had elapsed ; when he added his own store of anecdote acquired on this occasion to the information drawn from the several tainted sources we have referred to earlier in this work. Whether Vasari ever visited the Mother House seems uncertain. The erroneous sequence of his chronology renders this a moot point. But there is no doubt that his opinions were highly coloured by second and third hand reminiscences, in which some grains of truth lie concealed amid a deal of imaginative gossip.

Excepting in the single instance above mentioned, our artist is always described in the Monastery ledgers as *Giovanni Antonio depentore*, and once even *da Verzelli* is added ; a geographical suffix that might have enlightened—had they cared—the writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with regard to his real origin.¹

The names of the *garzoni* in Bazzi's employ at this time raise a number of particularly interesting points. *Melchion* we know nothing about. He would seem to have left Bazzi's service in the spring of 1506, perhaps to abandon painting altogether,

¹ An entry occurs in the accounts on August 28th, 1507, of a gift of ten *soldi* to *quello da Verzelli che andava ad Roma*. If not himself, this was perhaps one of the friends of his youth, who may have visited him on his way south.

96 EARLY FRESCOES AND PAINTINGS

for no records concerning him exist subsequent to his employment at Monte Oliveto.¹ The name *Marcionne* might be traced to one of those inferior imitators, who are responsible for several of the indifferent paintings scattered about the Sienese district, so often attributed to the master himself. "*Vincentio*," however, can be no other than *Vincenzo Tamagni of San Gimignano*, an artist endowed with a certain degree of talent, best known through his work in his native city, and the document² which records his imprisonment at Montalcino for a debt of 25 ducats to his former teacher, Bazzi.³ During his sojourn in that city in 1510 he painted a number of interesting frescoes in the church of S. Francesco,⁴ and in the chapel of the prison itself. Portions of these still exist, in which his master's style is so distinctly perceptible, as

¹ It is just possible that *Melchion* and *Marcionne* may be the same person.

² ARCHIVIO NOTARILE PROVINCIALE DI SIENA. 1511, 7 di Giugno. *Atti anteriori* 1585. *Filza di Rogiti di Ser Niccolò di Poso di Giovanni Posi da Mont' Alcinò*. 1505 al 1512, Rep. A. (*Atti Notarile*) Busta 358. Tamagni is here described as *Vincentius Bennardi* (sic) *Chelis de Sancto Gimignano*. The Note to the copy of this document (*Mil. Doc.*, vol. iii. p. 50) draws attention to the mistake in the earlier annotated editions of Vasari, wherein Tamagni is said to be the son of one *Bartolommeo de Chele*. But again the heading of the copy of this document describes him as *Vincenzo di Benedetto Tomagni*. (See APPENDIX No. 11.) Such information as is attainable regarding the subsequent history of Tamagni may be found in Vasari (*Op. cit.*, vol. iv. p. 489 *e seg.*). It is perhaps worth noting that, since he was born on April 10th, 1492, he would only have been about thirteen or fourteen years of age when at work with Bazzi at Monte Oliveto.

³ He appears to have left Bazzi's service in November 1506, for we find duplicate entries in the convent accounts on the 3rd of that month of seven soldi, disbursed to Marchionne to give to *Vincenzo, quando parti*.

⁴ In a chapel belonging to Ser Niccolò Posi, who, it may be observed, was the notary who filed the deed referred to above.

to have engendered an erroneous idea of their authorship.¹ We are not aware that any writer has hitherto drawn attention to the identity of this pupil, but the frequent mention of *Vincentio*, besides a record of his journey to San Gimignano on September 3rd, 1506,² and furthermore the entry of a payment on March 15th of the previous year of *9 carlini a uno fratello del suo garzone di Santo Gimignano* in the Monastery accounts furnishes clear proof of our contention.

Another disciple whom we know that Bazzi had under his tuition about this period, is *Michel Angelo Anselmi*;³ but we do not find any reference to him by name in the books of either convent. Anselmi's parents—people of respectability and good repute from Parma—returned to their native town in 1505, leaving their son under Bazzi's artistic tutelage; and he appears to have dwelt with him

¹ There is also a fine fresco—a life-size *Madonna and Child* with the Archangels Michael and Raphael and the young Tobias—in the Collegiata at Asciano that may almost certainly be assigned to this painter.

² Apparently on a visit, because we find him again buying pipkins (*pignatti*) at the Michaelmas Fair at Chiusuri,—presumably for his master.

³ Very many writers, especially in guide-books, call this artist *scolaro* or *discepolo di Riccio*; but this is absolutely impossible, since he was born in 1491. If, as Milanese (Vasari, *Op. cit.*, *Commentary*, p. 412) states, Riccio was in *his first youth* when he married Bazzi's daughter Faustina in 1543, he could not possibly have been more than an infant when Michael Angelo Anselmi left Siena for good. Cf. *post*, p. 166.

Antonio Anselmi, banished from Parma, took refuge at Lucca, where he found a wife. There his son, Michel Angelo, was born, and thence the parents moved to Siena, where they stayed until 1505. For further information concerning this master the student may be referred to E. Scarabelli Zunti, *Documenti e Memorie di Belle Arti Parmigiane* (1505-50) and Romualdo Baistrocchi: MSS. in the Communal Library at Parma.

until 1516 or thereabouts. Why, therefore, his name does not occur at all in the accounts, it is somewhat hard to understand, unless it be that he was generally known, both to the monks and to his companions, under some other designation. He might perchance be identified with either of the two first-mentioned lads.

The most interesting and important paintings in the series are those occupying the corners of the cloister: (a) *The Saint leaving his Home*; (b) *The Broken Cribble*; (c) *The Temptation of the Monks*; (d) *The Reception of the Novices, Maurus and Placidus*; and (e) *The Destruction of Monte Cassino*.¹ In the first-named, there appear the types we so often meet with throughout the cycle. The figure of the young S. Benedict is typical of all the young men (even the so-called portrait of Bazzi's wife) that follow in succession. The original model was probably one of his own *garzoni*; whilst the monks are evidently portraits, and no doubt speaking likenesses, of members of the community. Bazzi, we are told by Vasari, having been ordered to paint the portraits of the Generals of the Order²—two and two—under each "Act," certainly did avail himself of the features of the brethren for his purpose. Where the artist obtained his beautiful female models it is not easy to say, more especially since the types vary so considerably: in the *Temptation*, for example,

¹ It is to be observed that Eugene Müntz (*Op. cit.*, p. 519) thinks that this fresco was in point of time the *first* of the series.

² Vasari, *Op. cit.*, p. 383. These pseudo-likenesses seem to have offered but a feeble resistance to the hand of time, since Fra Antonio Bentivoglio (apparently Vasari's contemporary) ordered their obliteration.

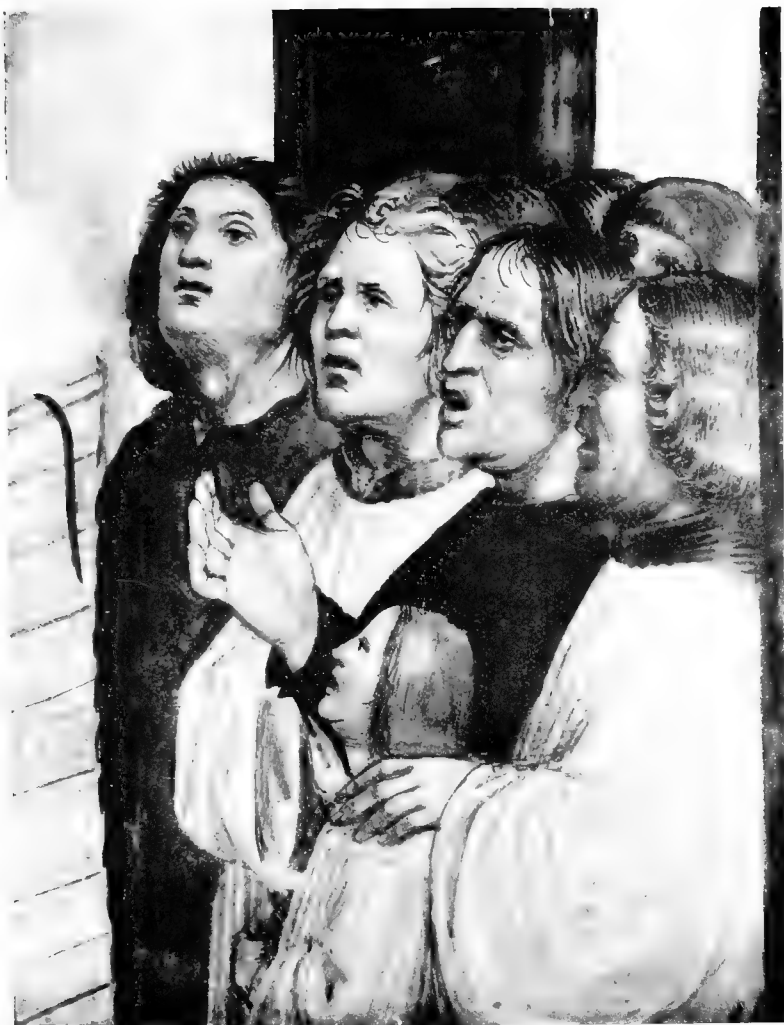


Photo: Lombardi.

CHOIR OF SINGERS.
DETAIL FROM SCENE 23 OF THE LIFE OF S. BENEDICT.
MONTE OLIVETO MAGGIORE.

To face p. 98.

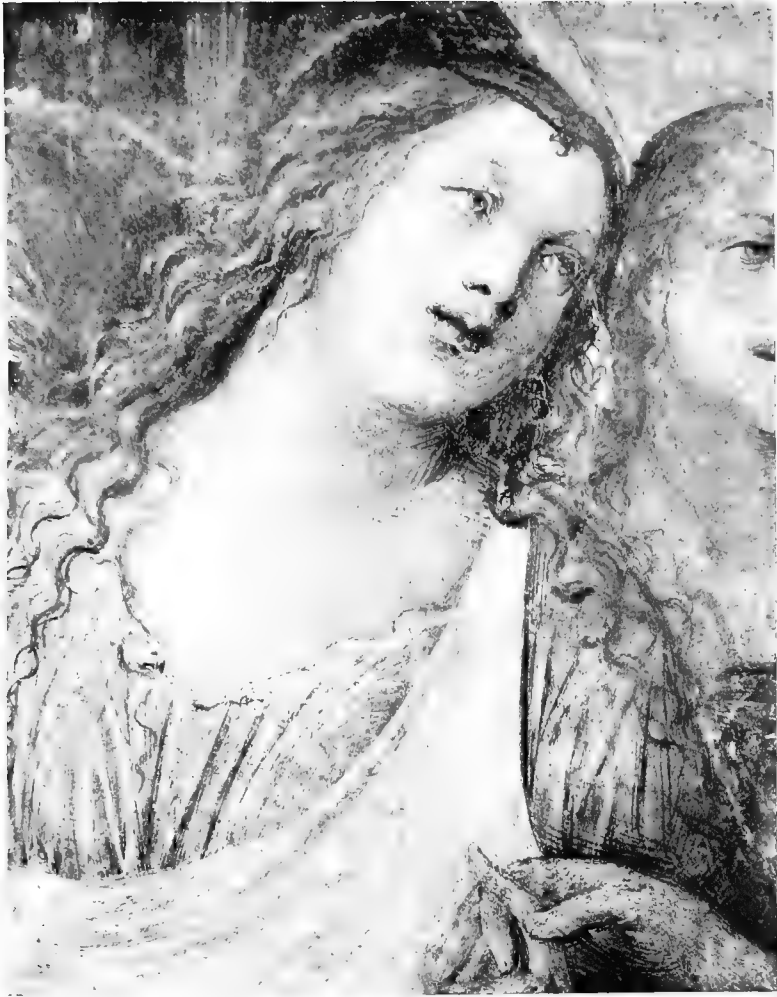


Photo: Lombardi.

FEMALE HEAD.

DETAIL FROM SCENE 19. "THE TEMPTATION OF THE MONKS."

MONTE OLIVETO MAGGIORE.



Photo Lombardi.

FEMALE HEADS.

DETAIL FROM SCENE 19. "THE TEMPTATION OF THE MONKS."

MONTE OLIVETO MAGGIORE.

the several figures differ notably both in countenance and form. It may fairly be suggested,—indeed it appears extremely probable,—that our artist introduced a deeper symbolism into the picture than he is generally credited with. Why otherwise should he have drawn so marked a contrast between the stately, intellectual-looking ladies in the centre, gazing—it would seem disdainfully—at the two graceful but lightly-clad damsels, treading their seductive measure, in the right-hand corner of the composition? Might not his intention be, that the former should appear to sway the spiritual faculties of the monastic student-band; the latter seek rather to appeal to the grosser instincts of the less cultivated and learned among their number? To accentuate this aspect of the question it is conceivable that, while one pair are garbed as princesses, the other should in the artist's mind depend solely on their personal charms,—“when unadorned adorned the most”;—another illustration perhaps of Vice and Chastity: Sacred and Profane Love.

Animals are conspicuous by their presence in all the remaining frescoes enumerated above, notably a most cleverly foreshortened white horse in the *Destruction of Monte Cassino*.¹ The horses, both

¹ Berenson (*Drawings of the Florentine Painters cit.*, p. 125), says, “The fact seems to have escaped notice that the spirit of Leonardo's composition [*The Battle of Anghiari*] inspired no other composition so much as the fresco at Monte Oliveto Maggiore by Sodoma, representing Totila's attack on Monte Cassino.” He further mentions a fine late sixteenth-century copy (in the possession of Mr. H. P. Horne, in Florence) of the group representing the *Struggle for the Standard*, which is in his opinion the copy of a copy by Bazzi from Leonardo's original. The comments of a critic of such high standing, on works like these,

of S. Benedict and of his nurse, and the white dog in the foreground of the first scene, besides the menagerie described earlier in these pages, are among his most successful portrayals of animal life. Borders of arabesque *capricci* divide each section, and these alone would almost enable us to assert confidently, that Vasari wrote from hearsay, and had not actually seen these productions of Bazzi's brush; for whilst he describes the whole as full of lewdness, these grotesques, in which a vivid imagination might have run to riotous excess, are, in point of fact, conceived throughout in the most innocent, graceful, and charming vein. As is usual with grotesques (and the term itself is an avowal), contortions and monstrosities do of course occur. But there is nothing in them the least deserving of Vasari's sweeping reprobation. Frizzoni¹ points out with justice the probability that Bazzi was influenced in his arabesques by the work of Fra Giovanni da Verona, the celebrated wood-carver and *intarsiatore*,—at that time also employed at the convent,—whose exquisite craftsmanship to this day compels our admiration. The learned writer goes on to suggest, and indeed it is more than probable, that the Friar had brought with him from Venice a number of the woodcuts from the

are always worth recording. Though confessedly opposed to Bazzi's artistic attitude he remarks on p. 272 of the same work, when comparing his frescoes here with those of Andrea del Sarto at the Annunziata in Florence (*The Story of S. Philip Benizzi*), that "the Lombard is at times almost ravishing, while the Tuscan, though prosaic, shows greater seriousness of artistic purpose."

¹ Frizzoni, *Op. cit.*, pp. 120-21.



Photo: Lombardi.

MADONNA AND CHILD WITH AN OLIVETAN MONK.

FRESCO BY VINCENZO TAMAGNI.

MONTE OLIVETO MAGGIORE.

graceful classical designs of Andrea Mantegna, at that time already public property. These, to a temperament like Bazzi's, impassioned for new ideas, could not fail to prove a source of immense interest and delight. Possible evidence of the above may be found in the composition under the window of the south side of the cloister, representing the *Triumph of Neptune*, with horses, marine deities and sea-monsters, clearly recalling one of these woodcuts.¹ We might remark incidentally that among the other frescoes in the convent ascribed to our artist a number of inferior paintings cover the walls of a small room in the General's apartment. These are however clearly not by Bazzi, but might be attributed to Tamagni, who was probably the author of the very pleasing *tondo*,—*The Madonna and Child with an Olivetan Monk*,—on a wall of the convent linen-room. One small work by our artist, nevertheless, usually escapes notice: an attractive head,—perhaps *The Madonna*,—painted in fresco close under the ceiling of the principal saloon in the suite above mentioned. It is a fragment only, but a very charming one, and undoubtedly the work of the master in person.²

We might suppose, were we to judge solely by

¹ It is of course, however, not impossible that Bazzi may have only renewed his acquaintance or refreshed his memory with these designs; since, if, as we have suggested above, he had studied illustrated works on ancient architecture in Leonardo's *bottega*, he would probably there also have come across these woodcuts.

² Frizzoni (*Op. cit.*, p. 116) would also attribute to Bazzi's own hand a *Pietà* on one of the staircases; but if this work ever was by him,—which is extremely doubtful,—entire repainting has completely obliterated all trace of its original character.

the statements which have gained general credence, that the time Bazzi spent at this monastery was occupied in little else than diversion, more or less innocent according to the individual attitude of commentator or biographer. We find instead that, in spite of all the faults and omissions imputed to him, he must have worked tolerably hard to have carried through so much work within the time allotted to him. Vasari accuses him of neglecting to make sketches; but the convent registers include more than one entry of *carta reale*, which in one instance is distinctly stated to be "*per fare il disegno de la istoria dela porta.*"¹

The frescoes were not all; there were works on panel besides. One of these, indeed, may be that lovely round picture, the *Charitas*, formerly in the Chigi Palace at Siena, but now in Count Bobrinsky's collection at the Villa Malta on the Pincian Hill in Rome.²

Furthermore, we learn from the ledgers, that in 1507³ our artist had gone to San Gimignano and painted there, in what was once the prison chapel,

¹ In the portfolios in the Uffizi, among the drawings attributed to Timoteo Viti, there is (Sheet 324, No. 1357) a sketch in sepia and brownish ink,—careful but unpleasantly grotesque,—for part of No. 7, from the *S. Benedict* series. This is referred to by Morelli (*Op. cit.*, p. 309, note) as a study by Bazzi himself for this fresco. With all due deference to that distinguished critic, we cannot reckon the drawing as a genuine work of the master, and it appears to have been made subsequently by some inferior hand.

² The style of this work forcibly recalls the group of three paintings so fully discussed earlier in this chapter. The outer edge of the panel itself bears a delicate border of gracefully conceived grotesques, quite in the spirit of those at the two convents.

³ An entry referring to this expedition is dated October 11th, 1507. He took one gold ducat for his journey and other expenses.



CHARITAS.

BOBRINSKY COLLECTION, ROME.

a fresco of *S. Ivo dispensing Justice*, which may still be seen in position. It is a large painting in monochrome ; and, although exhibiting in places the marks of haste and negligence, yet the carefully designed arabesque work on the pilasters in the picture, together with the detail of a coffered ceiling, are evidence that such a vast composition could not have been dashed off with but a few days' work. This fresco was doubtless commissioned,—maybe through the instrumentality of the family of Bazzi's pupil Tamagni,—by Messer Giovanni Battista Macchiavelli, at that date Podestà of the little towered city ;¹ since his arms, though injured and partly effaced by time and human malfeasance,² are still discernible upon it. That Bazzi's work pleased the citizens of San Gimignano is certain, since they employed the artist again in 1513³: this time to paint a *Madonna and Child* to take the place of an older fresco,⁴ in the Loggia under the Palazzo del Podestà. Fragments of two *putti* supporting a curtain are all that remain of this painting.

Three years—from August 1505 to August 1508—are not an excessive period wherein to carry out,—even with apprentice assistance,—all the work known to have been completed within that space of

¹ Can. Luigi Pecori, *Storia della Terra di San Gimignano*. Firenze, 1853, p. 574.

² Another allegorical work, fragments of which are still visible on the opposite wall of the same room, is perhaps by Tamagni himself. It is certainly not,—as some writers have suggested,—the work of Giovanni Antonio Bazzi.

³ Pecori, *Op. cit.*, p. 563, note 4. For this work he was paid 142 lire. 2 Luglio 1513. *Lib. di Provv. di Lett. G.*, Nos. 64 and 140.

⁴ This work was dated 1337, and had cost the town 10 florins. It represented *The Madonna and Child with SS. Gimignano, Louis, and Christopher*. Pecori, *Op. cit.*, p. *cit.*

time. We may reasonably, therefore, view with suspicion, not untinged with scepticism, the by-no-means candid or disinterested criticism of our artist's alleged scandalous idleness.

The payments made to him amounted in all to 1561 lire. For the larger and more elaborate frescoes, such as the *Temptation of the Monks*, he was paid 10 ducats each (= 70 lire), and for the lesser compositions 7 ducats (= 49 lire).

A creature of impulse, careless of the morrow, and incapable of long sustained effort, he certainly was; and no doubt a boon companion besides, whose animal spirits roused the quiet Abbey in a fashion that left the inmates with a goodly store of memories for discourse and commentary many years after his departure from their midst. But we would ask once more, whether mirth and joviality are necessarily signs of depraved instincts. Were such the case, who would escape the imputation?

It has been aptly remarked that the informing spirit of Bazzi's frescoes and the inspiration of his predecessor Luca Signorelli's work are essentially diverse. Signorelli's selection deals almost exclusively with the more supernatural among the legends of S. Benedict's life; such as, encounters with incarnate fiends, miraculous foreknowledge of monkish deception, and so forth. Bazzi, on the other hand, while indulging equally in the marvellous, invests his characters with a more human aspect, and appeals directly to the spectator's own sensations; thus imparting to the creatures of his fancy that sense of reality—almost amounting to personal contact—so noticeable throughout his work. In both artists

a passionate admiration for the beauty of the human form is vividly present; but whereas Signorelli devotes his energies to depicting a realism of muscular development, which tends often to unlovely exaggeration,—and on that account seldom attempts to represent female beauty,—Bazzi is keenly alive to the possibilities presented alike by either sex, endowing his figures with a suave grace, which, if more fanciful, is at least as artistically satisfactory.¹ Moreover, Signorelli's monks, as Paul Bourget² remarks, are, in spite of all his fine draughtsmanship, but clumsy peasants taken from the glebe; while Bazzi's are full of a spirit, too often wanton and freakish, but always real and true to nature. Despite recent criticism³ regarding his treatment of the monastic garb, we would venture to submit that Bazzi has succeeded better even than Lippi in reproducing without monotony the correct disposition into which the folds of a heavy material must of necessity fall. Signorelli's treatment is not so successful, and the lifeless ivory-white hue of the Benedictine-Olivetian habit in his work, strikes a jarring note in his compositions. In defiance of Vasari's statement that Bazzi said he only worked "when money jingled," and despite also the too evident traces of haste and negligence,⁴ these

¹ On this point see John Addington Symonds, *New Italian Sketches (Monte Oliveto)*. Leipzig: B. Tauchnitz, 1884, pp. 51-56.

² Paul Bourget, *Sensations d'Italie*. Paris: Lemerre.

³ E. C. Strutt, *Fra Filippo Lippi*. London: George Bell & Sons, 1901, pp. 96-7.

⁴ Don Luigi Perego (*Op. cit.*, p. 94) notes one instance where haste to complete might tend to give a false impression of the artist's ability. In describing fresco No. 14 (*S. Benedict at the Prayers of the Monks draws Water from a Rock*), he points out that among the fourteen monastic

frescoes breathe such a *joie de vivre* that neither time nor injudicious restoration¹ can detract from their subtle charm. The late reverend Abbot, Don Gaetano di Negro, desiring to preserve these masterpieces from further injury, very wisely closed in the cloister with glass; but we could have wished that, in redecorating, there had been some one at hand to place a check upon the lavish use of *scagliola* (to imitate coloured marble), which now surrounds these beautiful works of art, and introduces a disturbing element in the symphony of delicate and subdued colour.

figures in the composition, only four hands are visible. It is true that monks do conceal their hands in their wide sleeves, so that the painter on his side had reason in not delineating more than were needed for the action of the story; but the worthy father takes care to lay stress upon the point, that the artist probably concealed them to save himself trouble, and *not* because *he could not paint hands*. Hands are in point of fact one of the most strikingly beautiful features in all his work.

¹ Romagnoli (*Op. cit.*) states that the frescoes were restored between 1800 and 1830, and by no means improved thereby.

CHAPTER V

FIRST VISIT TO ROME

MOST writers and critics have fixed upon 1507 as the date of Bazzi's first visit to Rome; and formerly, indeed, upon the authority of Vasari, he was supposed to have completed *all* his undertakings there during one single visit. This proposition is nevertheless a point widely disputed by divers authorities. The publication of the Monte Oliveto Maggiore documents has elicited one hitherto unknown fact: namely, that our artist could under no circumstances have begun to paint in Rome *until the autumn of 1508*;¹ since records of payments and advances of money recur in the Monastery accounts as late as August 22nd, when a final settlement was effected with him, apparently *in person*.² It is undoubtedly true, that Agostino Chigi did come to Siena in 1507 to negotiate the sale of Port' Ercole; and if we read Vasari literally, we might surmise that Giovanni Antonio journeyed to Rome in his train during that year. This suggestion might hold good if we understand the entry "*quello da Verzelli*" in the convent ledgers dated

¹ Some of the later writers on Bazzi seem even to wish to limit his stay at the convent to *one* instead of *three* years. For example, Faccio, *Op. cit.*, *Chronological list*; Priuli Bon, *Op. cit.*, *Chronological list*.

² ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI SIENA. *Libro d'Amministrazione dell' Archicenobio di Monte Oliveto cit.* 1508, 22 di Agosto.

August 28th, 1507, to refer to our artist: but that he could not have remained there long is evident from these selfsame accounts. He may indeed have been invited by his eminent patron¹ to pay a visit to the Eternal City, where perhaps he arranged to return in the following year, so soon as his commission at the convent should have been terminated. Or again, Agostino Chigi's departure to Rome may have been deferred until 1508, when the painter could well have accompanied his protector. The fact that Bazzi did not enter upon his work at the Vatican *until the autumn* of that year is proved also by a document dated October 13th, 1508, quoted by Cugnoni,²

¹ Bazzi probably obtained his introduction to the Chigi from his earliest Sieneſe patrons, the Spannocchi, who were commercial allies of the great bankers.

² C. Cugnoni, *Agostino Chigi il Magnifico*. Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Romana, vol. ii. p. 485, note 89. Roma, 1878.

"Die xiii. Octobr. 1508, Ma^{cus} D. Sigismundus Chisius p'misit quod Magr. Io. Ant. de bazis de Vercellis pictor in Vrbe pinget in Cameris S. D. pp superiorib. tantā operā q̄ extimabitur fact. p. 50 duos de car^{nis} Xp̄ duc., quos p^{tus} Io. Ant. confessus fuit recepisse p̄ manus D. Hier. fran^{ci} de Senis computis fabricar. p^{ti} S. D. N. ad bonum computū.

"Rome in bancho p^{ti} D. Sigis pntib. Ant^o luti capserio dicti banchi et Mariano del peccia laicis Senen. Andreas Centolynus."

This work is based chiefly on Fabio Chigi's *Life* of his celebrated ancestor, which exists in MS. in the Chisian Library in Rome. Fabio Chigi, who afterwards became Pope under the title of Alexander VII., compiled this *Life* nearly a century after the death of its subject, from various authors;—mainly, he states, from Sigismondo Tizio, who was a younger contemporary of Agostino.

That Sigismondo Chigi was as valuable a friend to the artist as his brother Agostino, is also proved by an extract quoted by the same writer (*Op. cit.*, p. 61, note 89) from the *Commentaries* of Fabio Chigi as follows: "Aedificavit [Sigismundus] domus superiorem partem, quae Senis ad forum extat, spectatque viam [quae dicitur] *Casati*; aedificatam a Patre contiguam partem, quae viam spectat S. Salvatoris, *Malborghetto* olim nuncupatam, lateritia facie exornavit, cum ruinam miniretur anno MDX. Laquearibus textit contignationes; cubilia praecipue duo exornavit. In altero per lacunar, in altero per parietes dispositis

and by Müntz,¹ and referred to by Crowe and Cavalcaselle,² in which Sigismondo Chigi, brother to Agostino, tenders security that Bazzi shall execute certain work upon the ceiling of the Camera della Segnatura to the value of 50 ducats. The above-mentioned writers, moreover, point out, that since neither Albertini,³ nor the records of the Vatican Office of Works, mention Raphael's name during the winter of 1508-9, it is probable that the latter was not summoned until the following spring. Thus Bazzi would have had six

luculentis, et quasi areolis picturas collocavit eximias ; et lacunar q̄-dem fabulas ab Ovidio desumptas ostendit, parietes vero alterius cubiculi et aversa hostia ac fenestrae Julij Caesari gesta scripto circum in zophoro Epigrammate minime malo

Flevit Alexandri Caesar cum vidit honores,
 Concepitque animis aequora, regna, polum.
 Inde triumphatum circumtulit arma per orbem,
 'Tantum ingens virtus, aemula facta potest.
 Quisquis in hac igitur defiget imagine vultus,
 Æmulus is Magni Caesaris esse velit.

Sub quaque etiam areola depicta, et aliae sunt inscriptiones ; omnia eius artificis opera, qui anteriorem quoque domus faciem pinxit, *Johannes Antonio Vercellensis cognomento Sodoma*. . . . Ædem praeterea S. Bartholomei consimili excitavit impendio, fornice picto stellatoque supra Coronam, quae e topho aurato est, incubante sacris additis instrumentis, ac postea super aram Tabula a Io. Antonio Sodoma depicta. Quam bella gerente Carlo V. contra Senensium Remp. a militibus abreptam Hispanis, et ad oppidum Collis Vallis Elsau translatam scribit Julius Mancinus, Senensis Urbani VIII. medicus ac intimus cubicularius in suo opere de Pictura."

It should be observed also, that in 1507 Sigismondo had married Sulpicia, daughter of Pandolfo Petrucci ; so that he too would have been in Siena during that year.

¹ Müntz, *Raphael*. *Op. cit.* (large edition, 1882), p. 307, note.

² J. A. Crowe and C. B. Cavalcaselle, *Raphael: his Life and Works*, vol. ii. pp. 10-14. London : John Murray, 1885.

³ *Opusculum de Mirabilibus Novæ et Veteris Urbis Romæ editum a Francisco de Albertinus Clerico Florentino dedicatumque Julio Secondo Pont. Max.* Roma, Febb. 3rd, 1510.

months at least, in which to bring forth his ideas, before Pope Julius II. should order everything to be erased.

Our painter once in Rome found himself in the midst of an excellent company; since nearly all the most celebrated artists of the day had been called thither by the haughty Pontiff to decorate his new apartments, and to carry out various other stupendous works to perpetuate the fame of his pontificate. The list of famous names there assembled is a long one, and most of the leading schools of Italy had contributed their quota of great masters. From Milan there came Caporali, Bramantino, and Cesariano; from Venice, Lorenzo Lotto; from Umbria, Perugino, Pinturicchio, and Signorelli; whilst a host of Florentines,—among whom Granacci, Bugiardini, L'Indaco, Agnolo di Donnino and Aristotile di San Gallo were not the least distinguished,—had trooped thither in the train of Michelangelo.

These artists dwelt for the most part in the Borgo Vecchio, meeting in all probability almost daily, in the Vatican Belvedere: in the quarters allotted to Bramante, to whose recommendation many of them had owed the distinction of a command to serve His Holiness.

At some date, then, about the middle of October 1508, Bazzi entered upon his task in the Camera della Segnatura. He divided his composition into a number of sections, separated by borders of his favourite *arabeschi*. Eight small compartments were filled with delicate illustrations taken from Anacreon's poems and the legends of Greece



Photo: Alinari.

CEILING OF THE "CAMERA DELLA SEGNATURA."

VATICAN, ROME.

and Rome,¹ while an octagon space in the centre displayed a number of *putti*, floating amid the blue vault of heaven and bearing aloft the Della Rovere shield.² Whether Bazzi had completed any further portions of the work in the larger divisions, or had merely planned or sketched in his subjects, when the ruthless fiat came to destroy "everything," we shall now never know. In view most likely of the short time at his disposal, and his natural tendency to take things easily,—yielding to the call and

¹ The Scenes are as follows:—

A commander haranguing his troops.

A cavalry charge.

Victory crowning a General.

Priests offering sacrifice.

These are painted in monochrome.

The following are painted in colours on a gold ground:—

Cupid requites hospitality by wounding his host.

Venus standing in her shell spreads her veil to the rising breeze.

Vulcan forges the shield of Mars.

Satyrs disturb the slumbers of Antiope.

It is perhaps worth observing that the backgrounds of these four last designs are painted to represent mosaic, in the same manner subsequently employed by Raphael himself in the larger sections.

² It is but just to remark that the question whether this octagon section is the work of Bazzi or not, affords scope for extensive controversy. Many authoritative critics maintain, with a certain show of reason, from the very Mantegnesque appearance of these *Putti*, that they are the work of Melozzo da Forlì. (Cf. Schmarzow, *Der Freskenschmuck einer Madonnen Kapelle in Subiaco. Berichte über die Verhandlung der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1901.) This writer would also attribute the charming *Charitas* in the Villa Malta (Bobrinsky) in Rome, to which we have alluded in the last chapter, to this period of our artist's life. Moreover, he also sees Bazzi's hand in some of the figures on the ceiling lunettes in the Appartamento Borgia of the Vatican. This theory again seems to us somewhat far-fetched, although another distinguished critic (Dr. Ernst Steinmann, *Rom in der Renaissance von Nicolaus V. bis auf Leo X.* Leipzig: Seemann, 1902, p. 114) says: "Sodoma's feeling, Signorelli's character allied with Umbrian grace, are to be found in Pinturicchio's *S. Sebastian* in these rooms."

bidding of the merry company he consorted with,—it is improbable that the Pontiff's order involved the destruction of much actually finished work ; indeed, therefore, Vasari's statement that the rest was "*destroyed*" should not be construed too literally. Nor is it necessary either to suppose that it was the work itself, rather than tardy methods, which so displeased His Holiness as to bring about the artist's sudden dismissal. No doubt the imperious Pontiff, having pressed into his service all the most skilled artificers from the four quarters of Italy to adorn his palace, was in haste to see some of his vast designs completed before Death should hurry him away ; and the laboured efforts of the aged Perugino and the easy-going ways of the jovial Bazzi incensed him in equal measure.

Although associated later, and working side by side at the Farnesina, Bazzi and Raphael were neither of them by that time so impressionable, nor were they thrown together in such terms of intimacy as, we may reasonably conclude, existed between them at this early period of their lives. Raphael must have held Bazzi's genius in undoubted reverence, or he would scarcely have risked the loss of the irascible Pope's favour by saving from destruction any portion whatever of the ceiling. Nevertheless, the fact stands forth that the regard experienced towards Bazzi by Raphael, his young rival and comrade, is marked by evident and genuine feeling ; ripening into that friendship, which, with corresponding artistic fruit, would seem to have sprung into life between them. The marked resemblance in their work, in a subject such as the



HEAD OF A YOUTH.

PENCIL SKETCH.

MALCOLM COLLECTION, BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON.

portrayal of children,—be they classic *putti*, Holy Infants, boy angels,¹ or merely youthful portraiture,—cannot fail to impress the observer strongly, if not actually to carry conviction to his mind. Bazzi at his best could certainly herein rival—if not surpass—the Prince of Painters; but alas! how seldom was he *at his best*! If we compare his cherubs in the Farnesina, in the Chapel of S. Catherine at S. Domenico in Siena, and the half-obliterated but extremely beautiful *putto* in the arch over the Porta Pispini of that city, with any of Raphael's work of the same description,—viz. the seated boy with finger pointing upwards in the lunette representing *Jurisprudence* (Camera della Segnatura), or the celebrated children beneath the *Madonna di S. Sisto*,—it is hard indeed to say which artist can claim the palm. The allotment of existing drawings in the great collections of the world alternately to Raphael or Bazzi, is an unfailing source of contention for distinguished art-critics; to be reopened anew at every opportunity. In the beautiful chalk sketch of a head, so long attributed to Raphael, in the Malcolm Collection (British Museum), and others of a similar character elsewhere, modern criticism now recognises the work of the less famous painter. A recent discovery, (pointed out by Frizzoni to Sidney Colvin,²) of a

¹ Müntz (*Histoire de l'Art cit.*, vol. iii. p. 530) states that Bazzi's *putti* were influenced by Raphael's; but it may be quite as likely that the influence was reciprocal. The question of the authenticity of Bazzi's *drawings* is a thorny one, involving a vast number of hotly debated questions, and would naturally not find a place in an *historical* record of this kind.

² Sidney Colvin, M.A., *Selected Drawings by Old Masters in the University Galleries, and in the Library at Christ Church, Oxford*,

clever, but not altogether pleasing, portrait of a youth with black cap and flowing hair, in the collection at Christ Church, Oxford, suggests that Raphael, when preparing to introduce his own likeness into the *School of Athens*, sat to his friend for this powerful sketch ; which, in spite of the absence of personal beauty, conveys to us the impression of a speaking resemblance. The question concerning the discovery of Bazzi's own portrait in the *School of Athens*, traced in the figure so long supposed to be Perugino,¹ involves too lengthy an argument at this stage, and will be dealt with when we come to enumerate the still existing representations of our hero.² Assuming, however, for the moment, its authenticity, it only adds further weight to the suggestion that a warm and mutually appreciative friendship existed between the two painters.

In the spring of 1509, therefore, work was abruptly stopped. But that our artist left Rome immediately in consequence, is by no means either a necessary or a foregone conclusion ; indeed, a number of circumstances would seem to suggest the reverse. The theory generally adopted by writers who follow with literal fidelity Vasari's somewhat uncertain chronology is, that Agostino Chigi, determined to console his *protégé* for the slight thus inflicted, at once set him to work upon the famous Farnesina frescoes. This view is upheld with great

Part I. Oxford : Clarendon Press, Henry Frowde, 1903. Cf. Frizzoni, *Disegni di Antichi Maestri* (L'ARTE. Anno VII., fasc. iii., iv. ; Roma, 1904.

¹ Morelli, *German Galleries cit.*, p. 430, note 2.

² See APPENDIX.



HEAD OF A YOUTH WITH LONG HAIR.

(PORTRAIT OF RAPHAEL?).

PENCIL SKETCH.

CHRISTCHURCH, OXFORD.

force of argument by Dr. Richard Foerster, in spite of the consensus of opinion favouring a second visit to Rome in 1514.

Dr. Meyer¹ would place *two* pictures only within this period of the artist's life. But in this connection it should be pointed out that since easel-pictures, —especially those of a moderate size,—may be easily moved from place to place, the mere fact of their being found *now* in a particular city is no proof that they were painted there, or that others since removed may not also have been there at one moment of their existence. The two pictures in question are a *Pietà* and a *Leda*. The former a dark unlovely painting, and the *Leda* (a copy?²) are now in the Casino Borghese in Rome (Nos. 462 and 434).³

Resuming our chronological sequence, we find that our painter had unquestionably returned to Siena by the end of 1510; since in the autumn of that year he married Beatrice, the daughter of Luca de' Galli,⁴ landlord of the Goose and Crown

¹ Meyer, *Op. cit.*

² Morelli, *Della Pittura Italiana cit.*, pp. 151-59. Berenson (*Drawings of the Florentine Painters cit.*, p. 162) states that the Borghese *Leda*, being but a *copy* of a Bazzi version, is so much the farther removed from a Leonardo original.

³ Schmarzow (*Op. cit.*) would place at this period of our hero's career, certain frescoes in the Lady Chapel of the Church of S. Francesco at Subiaco. They represent *Scenes from the Life of the Virgin*, and the learned Professor displays considerable ingenuity in support of his contention. We have not been able to examine the original work, but the photos published by the *Kunsthistorische Gesellschaft für Photographische Publicationen* are not convincing.

⁴ William Heywood, *A Pictorial Chronicle of Siena*. Siena: Torrini, 1902, p. 97. That this citizen was one of the leading innkeepers in the Siena of that day is evident from the fact that, in May 1498, the orator of Charles VIII. of France was lodged in the Crown Inn at the city's expense.

Inns, by his wife Caterina de' Peri. This lady brought with her a dowry of 450 florins of 4 lire each,¹ and subsequently inherited under her mother's Will² two houses in the Via Vallerozzi in Siena. The issue of the marriage were two children: Apelles, born in August 1511, and Faustina in 1512.³ Among the godparents of the first child—who died an infant—we find the artist Girolamo Genga, whose eclectic and impersonal style at that time so far echoed Bazzi's, that the painting of a curtain to adorn the organ of the Cathedral of Siena, representing the *Transfiguration* (now in the Museum of the Opera del Duomo), was long attributed to the more celebrated master.⁴ On June 7th, 1511, as we have already had occasion to note, Bazzi sued his whilom pupil, Vincenzo di Bernardo Chelis (Tamagni),

¹ ARCH. NOT. PROV. SIENA. *Rogiti di Ser Alessandro di Niccolò della Grammatica*; *Atti Anteriori al 1585*, Filza dal 1507-15, No. 61. Reparto A, Busta 193. 1510, 28 Ottobre.

² ARCHIVIO detto. *Rogiti di Ser Ventura di Cionne Ciogni da Lucignano Val di Chiana*; Filza del 1523-27, No. 48; Rep. A, Busta 604. 1524, 19 Maggio.

³ ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI SIENA, *Libro de' Battezzati*, 1511: "Apelle f. di Barzi (sic) da Vergelle dipentore si baptezo addi xxviii d' Agosto. Compare M. Gismondo Acharigi, e M^o Giovan-Baptista Nini, e Gentile da Caparbio, e Girolamo da Urbino (il Genga) e Sinolfo Saracini."

ARCHIVIO detto, *Libro detto*, 1512; "Faustina, figlia di M^o Giovanant^o dipentore si baptizò addi xvj d' Agosto. Compare elchiga (Chigi)."

Vasari (*Op. cit.*, p. 398) makes another slip here. He states that Giovanni Antonio and Beatrice Bazzi had a daughter during their first year of wedlock, and separated immediately afterwards.

⁴ Painted in 1510, Genga received for it 100 scudi. Cf. Vasari, *Op. cit.*, vol. vi. p. 316, note 1. There is also a drawing of *Diana and her Nymphs*, Fol. 109, No. 2514, in the old Pinacotek at Munich, attributed by Morelli to our artist, which seems much more like the work of Genga. To this painter Schuchhardt (*Op. cit.*) seems inclined to attribute the fine *Charitas* at Berlin already alluded to.

then lying in prison at Montalcino, to recover from him a sum of 25 ducats.¹ No records exist concerning the circumstances of this debt, or the reason for Tamagni's imprisonment; but since we have already submitted the theory that the master received his first commission at S. Gimignano directly or indirectly through the Tamagni family, the relations between them may have been those of reciprocal obligation; hence the debt.

The reader should take special note that it is precisely during these years, marked as they were by intimate domestic events, and spent amid his family and personal friends, that the nickname of *Sodoma* first appears.

On March 10th, 1512,² we find Bazzi running two horses in the Palio held in honour of the Blessed Ambrogio Sansedoni;³ and his name occurs again in the same lists—probably for the identical *Festa*—two years later (1514).⁴ One of his horses would appear to have been entered for the Palio of "Our Lady of August" in 1513;⁵ but some offence seems

¹ ARCH. NOT. PROV. SIENA. *Rogiti di Ser Niccolò di Poso di Giovanni Posi da Montalcino* dal 1505 al 1512; Rep. A (*Atti Notarili*), Busta No. 358.

² ARCHIVIO detto (*Atti di Ordinamento Civile e Politico*), *Bastardello dei Quattro Provveditori di Biccherna*. *Nelle Carte di Ser Alessandro della Grammatica*; p. 28^t Rep. E, Busta 21.

³ For an elaborate account of this Saint and the races run in his honour, cf. William Heywood, *Palio and Ponte* (London: Methuen & Co., 1904), pp. 68-81. As to the place and management of the Sienese Palii of those days, cf. also p. 212. They were not promoted by the Contrade, as at present, but under the exclusive control of the Commune, and entries for the various events were open to owners and riders from all parts of Italy.

⁴ ARCH. DI STATO DI SIENA, *Biccherna* 883. Dal 1 Luglio 1513 al 30 Giugno 1514.

⁵ ARCHIVIO detto, *Biccherna* detto.

to have been committed on the recurrence of this festival in the following year,¹ since three entries in the books of the Biccherna, dated respectively August 19th and 23rd, and October 6th, 1514, record the levying of a fine of “25 *denari*,” besides the menace of arrest. This may account for his absence from the list of competitors in that race. It is upon these occasions that Bazzi may be said to have first become officially known as “*Sodoma*”; and it may thence reasonably be presumed that the officials of the Biccherna recognized the name as a *racing sobriquet*, and no more. In the text of one of the last-named entries the culprit is designated as IO BATISTA,² while the nickname is appended on the margin.

These racing records, of which copious extracts will be found in the APPENDIX, are somewhat intricate, and have been made none the more intelligible by incomplete and incorrect copying;³ while the difficulties of reference are increased by their separation, for no apparent reason, in two different Record Offices. Their interest is considerable. Let us therefore pause awhile, and consider the light they may throw on certain obscure points. The races recorded (five in all), together with the competitors, are as follows:—

March 10th, 1512 . Feast of B. Ambrogio
Sansedoni.

¹ ARCHIVIO detto, *Biccherna* 884. Dal 4 Luglio 1514 al Xmbre 22, 1514.

² It is even possible, since we find that *Batista* was the name of one of his jockeys in the earlier Palio of the same year, that the servant was the culprit, though the owner bore the brunt of the offence.

³ *Nuovi Documenti, etc.*, p. 408, No. 207. See APPENDIX No. 13.

March 30th, 1513 (?)	. Feast of B. Ambrogio Sansedoni.
" " "	. Feast of S. Mary Magdalen.
August 16th, 1513	. Feast of S. Mary of August (The Assumption).
March 30th, 1514	. Feast of B. Ambrogio Sansedoni.

We would first beg our readers to observe that the earliest entry is taken from a volume preserved in the *Archivio Notarile*; while the remainder are to be found in the *Archivio di Stato*, although both profess to form part of the same set of records: namely, those of the *Quattro Provedditori di Biccherna*. We may note next, that the second of these lists is written on a loose sheet of paper (a leaf from a book of accounts) pasted into the volume of records. It bears no authoritative date, but some latter-day archivist has written *1513 Marzo* in blue pencil underneath. This date therefore is only conjectural. From the names of the persons and the details concerning the horses mentioned, we are inclined to hold this list merely as an incomplete repetition or a misdated copy of the record for the August Palio of the following year (perhaps even a preliminary schedule for that race).¹ Since the name of our artist is not mentioned on either of these two occasions, the matter is so far one of minor

¹ It may be remarked that none of these records bear the stamp of finality, for erasures and alterations occur more than once in all of them. For example, for the S. Mary Magdalen Palio in 1513 the first entry of the name of the Duke of Urbino is struck out; as if there had been some mistake in the ownership of the horse mentioned,

importance. Neither does his name occur in the next list. Our interest, therefore, in these two races centres rather in those of the other individuals mentioned, the names of whose horses and jockeys seem to recur again and again at all the race-meetings. Some of these personages are men of the highest rank and commanding influence. Among them stands foremost the Marquis of Mantua,—whose acquaintance the artist perhaps made on some one of these occasions,—the Duke of Urbino, the Cardinal Alfonso Petrucci,¹ the Marchese della Sassetta, and last, but not least, Messer Agostino Bardi, in rivalry with whom we notice the painter enters two horses for the first Palio in which his own name occurs (*March 10th, 1512*). A single horse, the "*Equus leardus*," seems to have run for him on all occasions, including the August Palio of 1513; whilst two appear in March 1514, one of which animals is described as "*Equus morellus*."² This steed was perhaps that purchased from Agostino Bardi. Of his jockeys, one, Betto of Viterbo, seems to have ridden several times for him; but the queer nicknames of these gentry do not assist us much towards their identification in connexion with their masters. From

¹ Who, as we know, owed his scarlet hat to the good offices of Agostino Chigi in 1511.

² *Morellus* = black; Ital. *Morello*. G. L. Pulci, *Morgante Maggiore*, xii. 42:

"Cavalcava un' alfana smisurata,
Di pel morello e stella aveva in fronte."

Leardus = white; Ital. *Leardo*, a word especially used for the hide of a horse. G. F. Berni, *Orlando Innamorato*, ii. 23, 48:

"Larbin di Portogallo, ancor garzone,
Cavalca seco un gran destrier leardo."

the shifting of the names in the lists, it would seem that these lads were not always employed by the same owner. They probably belonged to a sort of guild or corporation, not confined to any particular locality, and rode for the highest bidder or first comer, as chance led them.¹

Francesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, was notoriously an enthusiastic patron of racing. His animals were famous throughout Europe; several even finding their way to England in the form of presents to Henry VIII.² His term of imprisonment in Rome in 1510³ does not seem to have precluded his name from appearing in the lists of owners at race-meetings all over Italy; and the circumstance of Bazzi's acquaintance with this Prince resulted some years afterwards in the offer of a specimen of his artistic handiwork.

We have already referred incidentally to our artist's purchase of a horse, with furniture complete, for the sum of 30 *ducati larghi*, from Agostino Bardi. The document recording this transaction is dated November 9th, 1513.⁴ The painter is there described as *Johannes Antonius Jacobi de Verzè de Savoia*,⁵ which crushes once and for all the *Vergelle* myth. Bazzi was to be permitted to extinguish

¹ The student may read these details with some interest in the copies of the entries above referred to.

² Julia Cartwright, *Isabella d' Este, Marchioness of Mantua, 1474-1539. A Study of the Renaissance*. London: John Murray. 1903, vol. ii. pp. 173-4.

³ *Idem*, vol. ii. pp. 43-4.

⁴ ARCH. NOT. PROV. SIENA. *Rogiti di Ser Mariano d' Antonio Benucci*, Filza 7a, No. 62; Rep. A (*Gestioni Notarili*), Busta 534.

⁵ A point worthy of note, since it records the fact that Vercelli at this date belonged to the Principality of Savoy.

the debt either by painting, within eight months, the façade of Bardi's house in the Piazza Postierla, or by completing an altar panel instead. We learn from Vasari that he actually executed the fresco in competition with Beccafumi, who was then first coming to the fore as an artist, and was engaged in decorating the neighbouring Palazzo Borghese. All trace of both paintings has long since vanished.

The year 1513 is the date that Meyer¹ would fix for the notorious Florentine Palio, an account of which is given in the first chapter. Several strong arguments, however, militate against this suggestion. In the first place no member of the Brandolini family was Prior of the Convent in that year.² Francesco Brandolini, who presumably is the personage alluded to by Vasari, held office from May 1504 to May 1506, May 1509 to May 1510, May 1515 to May 1517, May 1520 to May 1522, and May 1535 to May 1540. If, therefore, the biographer's statement is correct: that our artist's visit was induced by a commission to paint frescoes for this ecclesiastic, we must endeavour to place these two incidents within one or other of these periods. The first two terms are clearly out of the question: wherefore most critics, following Milanese,³ fix upon 1515 as the correct date; which is supported by a letter (already referred to), written by Jacopo V. d'Appiano,

¹ Meyer, *Op. cit.* This author skilfully gathers up the threads of his predecessor's arguments, but falls into a trap himself when speaking of the race as having taken place on the occasion of the *Feast of S. Ambrogio*, which was quite another occasion and in another city.

² Cf. *Familiarum tabulæ Conventi Montis Olivetorum*.

³ Vasari, *Op. cit.*, p. 407. *Prospetto Cronologico*. Cf. *post*, p. 188 *e seg.*

Prince of Piombino, the artist's staunch friend and patron, commending both him and his horses to the notice and protection of the ruler of Florence, Lorenzo de' Medici the Younger.

It is important to bear in mind that when Milanesi published his valuable work, the paintings at this convent were supposed to have been entirely destroyed. Not until the early nineties¹—and then only by a mere accident—did any portion come to light once more. This fragment comprises a portion of a *Cenacolo*,² the style of which is singularly mature; and with no other corroborative data, it is somewhat hard to believe that these frescoes were executed at such an early period of the artist's career. This view would assist a proposition, which we put forward with some diffidence, though it seems to us with a strong show of reason: viz., that the Aretine biographer has once more confused his facts and dates. It is more than probable—nay, most likely—that Bazzi and his horses competed in Florentine races on a number of occasions; one of which no doubt occurred in 1515.

It is scarcely conceivable that a well-known character, in the heyday of his popularity as man and artist, and enjoying the powerful protection of nobles and princes,—especially of the ruler of

¹ Diego di S. Ambrogio, *L'Affresco del Sodoma a Montoliveto fuori Porta San Frediano*. (*Arte e Storia*. 25 Gennaio, 1895, Anno XIV., No. 2.)

² They consist of figures of the seated Saviour with hand raised in blessing, S. John, S. Peter and Judas, grouped in the usual somewhat stereotyped order common to representations of this scene. The heads of the last two are unusually strikingly characterised. Cf. *post*, p. 186.

Florence himself,—could have been either unknown to the people by his regular racing appellation, or have been subject to the violence of the mob on that account. Far more probable, indeed, that later in life, recklessly trading on past successes, he should have essayed as an older man, and in a changed Florence, to try his luck once more, and have met then with some sort of misadventure such as Vasari describes.

The actual date of this Palio is still further thrown into uncertainty by the circumstance that, whereas Vasari states that the race was run on the occasion of the Feast of S. Barnabas,¹ which falls on June 11th, the letter of introduction is dated June 18th. It was probably in consequence of this letter that Milanese fixed upon S. John the Baptist's day (June 24th) for the race; but even then the time would have been too short to admit of the entry of Bazzi's horses to run on that day. Moreover, we find in the books of the Opera del Duomo of Siena records of commissions to be carried out by the artist, such as would scarcely have been given him in his absence. The fact that the work ordered on this occasion no longer exists has no bearing upon our argument; for the salient point of interest to us rests upon the evidence that his nickname was already *officially* recognised as such; thus effectually removing the sting from Vasari's story.

While we may agree, therefore, that in 1515 Bazzi

¹ This Palio was run to commemorate the Battle of Campaldino, fought on June 11th, 1289. Cf. William Heywood (*Palio and Ponte cit.*, p. 9), as regards certain buffooneries indulged in by the Florentine rabble in connection with this race. Cf. also p. 10 of the same work.

came to Florence under distinguished patronage, and entered horses for a Palio, the theory that this was the occasion whereon he acquired his surname may with justice be finally abandoned.

We are aware that on June 22nd he received from the Siena Duomo authorities a commission to fashion a bronze statue of an Apostle¹ for the decoration of that noble church; and to undertake besides, the artistic tuition of four of the apprentices employed in the *bottega* of the *Opera*. What has become of this Apostle? Did he ever take tangible shape? We cannot tell, since no trace of the image now remains; but a later notice,² dated October 11th of the same year, informs us that the

¹ ARCH. DELL' OPERA DEL DUOMO, *Libro di Memorie*, segnato E 9. a c. 28^t. 1515, 22 di Giugno. "*Deliberaverunt locare—Magistro Johanni Antonio alias Sodoma pictori, ad faciendum unam figuram unius apostoli brunzii in Ecclesia cathedrali cum illis conditionibus prout fuit locata Jacopo Cozzarelli. Item modis et pactis et locaverunt etiam aliam figuram, et hoc ad beneplacitum operariorum, si ipsis videbitur. Et quod ipse Johannes Antonius teneatur docere quatuor pueros dicti Operis gratis, et sine ullo premio ad pingendum.*"

We learn (Vasari, *Op. cit.*, p. 405, *Mil. Doc.* vol. ii. pp. 463-6; vol. iii. pp. 29 & 305), that these figures had been first allotted to Francesco di Giorgio and then to Giacomo Cozzarelli. We also learn from the same sources that contracts for training their young material had been entered into at different times by the Rectors of the Duomo, with Antonio Federighi (the sculptor), Ventura di Ser Giuliano, Turi de' Pilli (the carver and architect), and Giacomo Cozzarelli above-mentioned.

In reference to these bronze figures, the student may be interested to note the accounts of the sums of money paid by the Opera del Duomo to Francesco di Giorgio for the two bronze angels also made for the choir. ARCHIVIO DI STATO, DI SIENA. *Scritture Consistoriali*, Filza No. 24. 1497. Cf. *Mil. Doc.*, vol. iii. p. 305.

² ARCH. DELL' OPERA DEL DUOMO. *Libro verde di due Angeli*, Carte 287. 1515. 11 d' Ottobre. Giovantonio detto el Sodoma, dipentore, die dare per fino a d' XI d' Ottobre per lib. : trentaquatro di cera intormentinata: ebe per noi da Girolamo fattore, di quale si ebe dal Chozarello. Se li dè per fare li modelli del San Pietro.

figure was intended to represent S. Peter, and records the supply to the artist of 34 lbs. of wax for the model. This notice affords us cogent evidence that Bazzi did actually wield the chisel as well as the brush. Though, so far as we know, no examples of his achievements in that direction are in existence, his earlier studies betoken his taste for sculpture.¹ It has even been hinted that the beautiful figure of the *Risen Christ*, on the Bandini Piccolomini tomb in the north aisle of the Duomo of Siena, may be his handiwork. No definite testimony, unfortunately, can be adduced in support of this suggestion.² The commission of June 22nd also tenders proof of the high esteem in which he was held, both as a man and an artist; inasmuch as no fewer than four of the lads, selected to be educated at the expense of the Cathedral Office of Works, were placed under his charge.

¹ We read (Bottari, *Op. cit.*, etc. ; Turchi, *Op. cit.*, etc.) of a "*Head of S. John*" for which Bazzi is said to have given 10 scudi.

² Cf. Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale*, Act V., sc. ii. "3rd Gent. No: the princess hearing of her mother's statue, which is in the keeping of Paulina,—a piece many years in doing, and now newly performed by that rare Italian master, Julio Romano; who, had he himself eternity, and could put breath into his work, would beguile Nature of her custom, so perfectly he is her ape."

Baron Rumohr (*Italienische Forschungen*, chap. xiv. pp. 384-89) records a fragment of a painting by Bazzi in tempera on muslin (*Nesseltuche*) representing the *Metamorphosis of Cephalus*, which displayed strongly the artist's ability in sculptural effect. This fragment, however, seems to have disappeared.



Photo: Lombardi.

RISEN CHRIST.
STATUETTE.

BANDINI PICCOLOMINI TOMB. DUOMO, SIENA.

To face p. 126.

CHAPTER VI

SECOND VISIT TO ROME

Two of Bazzi's most celebrated compositions were painted during these years 1510-15. Conjecture and diversity of opinion has been rife concerning both. First, in order of time, comes the famous *Christ at the Column*, now in the Gallery of the Accademia delle Belle Arti in Siena (Room VIII. No. 352). Reams of rhapsody¹ by writers of every description have been poured forth concerning this fine painting; and it is so well known through countless reproductions that a description seems scarcely necessary. We would only remark that: defaced though it be by neglect and pure love of mischief; disfigured by separation from the larger fresco of which it formed part;

¹ Perhaps the most inapt is that by Nathaniel Hawthorne in his popular novel "*Transformation*," which runs as follows:—

"Sodoma, beyond a question, both prayed and wept, while painting his fresco at Siena of Christ bound to a pillar. . . . Sodoma in this matchless picture has done more towards reconciling the incongruity of Divine Omnipotence and outraged suffering Humanity, combined in one person, than the theologians ever did.

This hallowed work of genius shows what pictorial art, devoutly exercised, might effect in behalf of religious truth; involving as it does deeper mysteries of revelation, and bringing them closer to man's heart and making him tenderer to be impressed by them, than the most eloquent words of preacher or prophet." (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1891, p. 290.)

Students of the life of the painter will appreciate how entirely the great novelist has been carried away by enthusiasm and false sentiment.

and removed from the place for which it was designed; in spite also of the inappropriate and ugly frame; and though hung amid everything that is unsuited to the subject:—this masterpiece still remains unrivalled. Originally painted on the wall of the cloister of the Franciscan Convent in Siena, it remained *in situ*, exposed to every kind of injury and ill-treatment, until 1842, when this treasure—all that had survived of a much larger work—was sawn from its place and removed to the custody of the Academy of Fine Arts.¹ Vasari dismisses this important fragment almost without comment; although he adds information of some interest concerning the rest of the composition. He tells us that facing the Principal Figure, the executioners, etc.,—traces of whose arms are still visible—Pilate was represented surrounded by many Jews (*molti Giudei*), and that among the crowd was the painter himself, with long hair “as then worn” (*come si portavano allora*).

Della Valle, who likens the Man of Sorrows to a “*suffering Jupiter by Pheidias*,” gives a pathetic description² of the state in which he found

¹ The student is recommended to compare this fine fresco with a similar representation in the cloister at Monte Oliveto.

² Della Valle, *Op. cit.*, p. 263. “Dietro a questa pittura vi è un pozzo, e sopra il pozzo la cucina; Quella parte della figura che corrisponde alla cucina non ha altro danno, se non quello, che pure è gravissimo sofferto da alcuni chiodi fitti nel muro vicino, e da ragazzi insolenti ne’ loro giuochi; dalla metà delle coscie in giù corrisponde al pozzo, e la pittura è perduta affatto, e minacciava di perdersi totalmente; ma avendo i miei amorevoli confratelli commesso a me la cura di ristorare questo danno, feci nel miglior modo riattare i mattoni di sotto, e con alcune viti rimettere uno sportello che lo chiudesse. E perchè il ruvido dell’intonaco, che troncava parte di questa bella pittura, non offendesse



Photo: Lombardi.

CHRIST AT THE COLUMN.

SIENA ACADEMY.

this grand work at the end of the eighteenth century. He tells us that behind the painting there was a well, with the kitchen above; that the portion fronting the latter was,—in spite of a nail driven into the wall and the actions of mischievous boys in their play,—not absolutely ruined; but the well-mouth opened half way down the thighs of the Saviour's Figure: a circumstance that certainly threatened to destroy the fresco altogether. This pious antiquary relates how, through his efforts, certain repairs were done. A door was made to close the well; and in order that the whitewash, which covered parts of the composition, should not offend the eye, he caused a curtain to be painted over it,—adding somewhat plaintively that this improvement (! !) was a failure. Not until half a century later were the remains at length removed from further risk to a safer resting-place.

The facts we can gather concerning the execution of this picture are as follows: Sigismondo Tizio, under date 1517, records the death on February 8th of one *Lucas Politianensis*, a Franciscan friar and Professor of Theology. He further states that this Friar Lucas was *Guardian* of the Convent of S. Francesco in Siena, and that during his term of office, divers artistic additions,—including the marble doorway at the west end and a rose window above,—were made to that church. He adds finally: *Hic ex die, qua mons Politianus ad Florentinos rediit,*

l'occhio feci coprirlo con un velo finto, il quale non riuscendo bello, vi feci scrivere sopra questo verso:—*Avesse teso almeno Parrasio il velo.*

La mano sinistra, e alcune altre cose fuori della figura sono state ritoccate da un pennello ladro, e disgraziato. La figura è alta più del naturale."

Senae commoratus est, Christum flagellis cæsum ad angulum primi claustrî pingi fecit. The cession of Montepulciano to Florence took place, we read, somewhere between 1510 and 1511, but we have no definite knowledge that Fra Luca was Guardian of S. Francesco at that date. Canonico Lusini states¹ that he held that office in 1503, and again in 1514; but in a list of these worthies in the Appendix of his work, he names "*Fra Luca di Angelo di Cione da Siena*" for 1503, while the Father Guardian for 1514 is said to be "*Fra Luca de' Cappelli da Montepulciano.*"² There is, indeed, no reason for rejecting the suggestion that these two individuals may be one and the same person; but neither again, on the face of it, does the evidence justify anything but an open verdict. Della Valle says (and he gives as his authority the *Libro Nero* of the Convent) that Fra Luca da Montepulciano was Guardian at some time between the years 1500 and 1517 for a period of four years; but the only definite notice of him in this capacity is a document dated January 10th, 1515, signed *Rev. dup (sic) P. M. Lucas de Montepolitiano*. There is nothing to show that he was not Guardian also during the years previous to 1514-15, since the last recorded official is one *Fra Angelo di Daniele de Campioni da Siena*, who occupied the post in 1510. Fra

¹ Lusini, *Op. cit.*, p. 137, note 2.

ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI SIENA. *Carte del Convento di S. Francesco*, fol. 75.

² Lusini, *Op. cit.*, p. 267. It is possible that since Montepulciano belonged to Siena in 1503, an inhabitant of that city might be content to be called *da Siena*; but that after the cession to Florence, Fra Luca perhaps clung to his native place, rather than be called *da Firenze*.

Luca may have succeeded him in the following year. But even if he should not have held this responsible office, all that concerns our argument is, that at the date of the treaty (1510-11) he was living in Siena, and instrumental then in commissioning the painting. The usual date assigned to this work is 1514; but if apart from the artistic achievement we view the fresco as an historical record, we hardly see how the date can be set so late. It cannot in any case have been painted later than 1515, for we find Fra Giovanni da Lucignano and Fra Innocenzio di Neri da Siena as Guardians in that year and in 1516 respectively. Probability points even to a somewhat earlier execution.¹

The other important work falling within this period is the decoration of Agostino Chigi's bed-chamber at his Villa in the Trastevere. The learned writer, Dr. Richard Foerster, in his exhaustive treatise on this Villa² and his subsequent article upon the representations of the *Alexander and Roxana Idyll*,³ endeavours with considerable skill and acumen to combat the now generally accepted theory that Bazzi paid a second visit to Rome for this work, subsequent to that in which he designed the ceiling of the Camera della Segnatura in the

¹ It is to be observed here that, according to Vasari's *Chronology* (*Op. cit.*, p. 388) Bazzi's visit to the Prince of Piombino—whom, by the way, he calls *Jacomo Sesto*—took place *immediately after* the painting of *Christ at the Column*.

² Dr. Richard Foerster, *Farnesina Studien*. Rostock: Hermann Schmidt, 1880.

³ Dr. Richard Foerster, *Der Jahrbuch der Königl. Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 15 Band, 1894, "*Die Hochzeit des Alexander und der Roxana in der Renaissance*."

Vatican. The able critic, in his enthusiasm for his subject and principal arguments : viz., the dates of the building of the Villa, and the work therein by Raphael and Sebastiano del Piombo : has, nevertheless, failed to give due consideration to those well-authenticated dates in Bazzi's life, which seem to entirely exclude any acceptance of his hypothesis, or of an earlier date for these important frescoes.

Let us therefore carefully examine the dates, and fix them as far as we approximately can. Foerster, after marshalling a variety of facts, principally drawn from Cugnoni,¹ in support of his contention, reaches the conclusion that, commenced in 1509, the Villa itself was completed in 1511.² About 1509, or soon after, two metrical descriptions of the house appeared in print ;³ in the second of which occur the lines :

*" Ast e porticibus primis sese atria pandunt
Prima, dehinc alio super his stant altera versu :
Haec circum haud uno stant picta cubilia cultu,"*

upon which the German critic founds his argument and lays so much stress. It seems scarcely likely, however, that so enthusiastic a panegyrist as

¹ Cugnoni, *Op. cit.*

² It is a curious fact,—and one worthy of note in a "*Life*" of one of her most distinguished sons,—how workmen from *Vercelli* are found among those employed at the Farnesina. We read of a certain *Giovanantonio Invercellini* of Vercelli, a smith, who in 1510 contracted to supply Chigi with hinges for the doors of his new villa.

³ *Suburbanum Augustini Chisii opus per Blasium Palladium impressum Romae per Jacobum Mazochium, Romanæ Accademiæ bibliopolam anno salutis MDXII.*

De Viridario Augustini Chigii Patritii Senen, vera libellus Galli Egidii Romani poe. laur. impressum Romae per Stephanum Guillireti et Herculem nani consocios anno Domi. 1511.

Palladio would have dismissed so important an undertaking as these frescoes with a curt phrase like *picta cubilia*. It is possible,—nay, even probable, judging from the rest of the evidence,—that other rooms, or some paintings since destroyed or superseded, are indicated by these words. Or it may even be that the poet being aware that Chigi did intend to paint his sleeping apartments, spoke of them beforehand as an accomplished fact.

Foerster¹ would determine the date of Bazzi's Farnesina labours in accordance with the literal reading of Vasari ;—*i.e.*, immediately after the abrupt termination by Julius II. of the painter's contract at the Vatican (1509). Now, although it is more than likely that Bazzi did not at once abandon the city on that occasion, still his marriage in Siena in October 1510 furnishes irrefragable proof that he had left Rome in the course of the autumn of that year. The births of his children, together with the other documentarily proven events, render his alleged departure from Siena in 1511 exceedingly doubtful. Moreover Chigi himself was, as Foerster tells us, absent from Rome during the early months of 1510. Going first to Bologna in company with Pope Julius II.,—from whom, on March 10th, 1511, he obtained a cardinal's hat for the Sieneſe patrician Alfonso Petrucci,²—he proceeded to

¹ Foerster's statement (*Die Hochzeit, etc.*, note 2) that Albertini (*Op. cit.*) records the Farnesina among the sights of Rome as early as June 3rd, 1509, and that therefore the frescoes themselves should be placed before 1512 rather than later, seems scarcely to accord with his earlier proposition that the fabric was not commenced until 1509, nor finished until 1511.

² Whose horses, it will be remembered, contested with those of our artist at several Sieneſe *Palii*.

Venice, whence he returned with the beautiful Francesca Andreazza (or Ordeasca), his mistress,—subsequently his wife,—bringing with him also Sebastiano del Piombo. His return to Rome with this lady,—whom he did not however marry until August 1519,—may have fired him with the desire to decorate his nuptial chamber in her honour.

While a second visit to Rome on Bazzi's part earlier than 1514 does not lie outside the range of possibility, yet the task before him was not one that could be accomplished in a few days; and to set him to work there immediately on the completion of the villa in 1511, so as to have completed the undertaking by the end of 1512, is a theory manifestly untenable in view of ascertained dates of the artist's life. *Stilcritik*, moreover, suggests in this work a more advanced style and power than Bazzi exhibits at the date proposed by Dr. Foerster. Although venturing to disagree with that able writer in matter of dates, we are cordially at one with his description and enthusiastic criticism of the frescoes themselves, and cannot do better than quote largely from his writings, strongly recommending the reader to study his interesting essays on the Villa, which form a fund of most valuable information, embracing everything connected with the building and its celebrated founder.

The principal portions of the work are displayed on the north, east, and west walls of the bridal chamber. The south wall, broken by the window, is undecorated; and the ceiling, upon which are represented a number of minor scenes

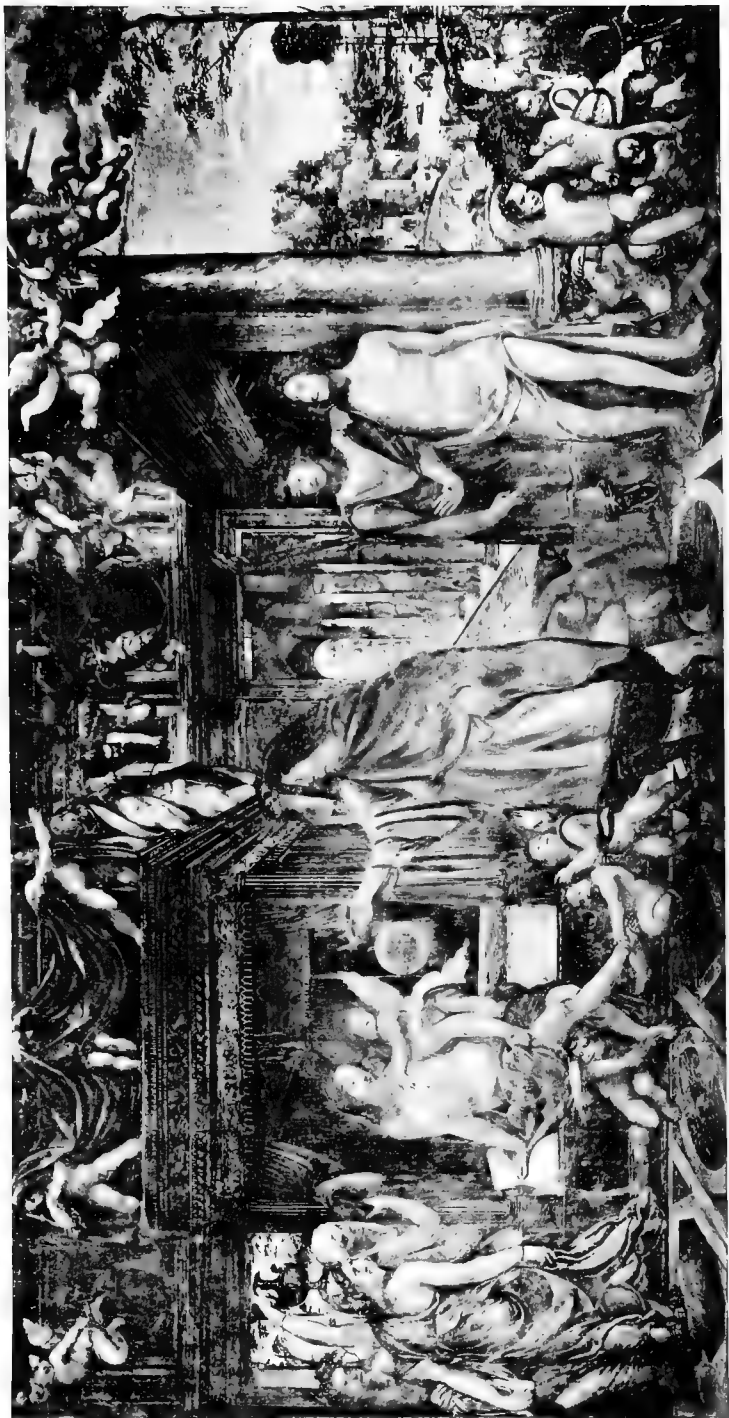


Photo. Braun & Co. Ltd.

THE MARRIAGE OF ALEXANDER AND ROXANA.
FARNESINA, ROME.

from classical mythology, has never, we believe, been attributed to Bazzi.

The centre of interest is unquestionably the northern wall, whereon is depicted *The Marriage of Alexander and Roxana*.¹

The bridal chamber, of oblong shape, at once transports the spectator to the realms of fancy, where imagination rather than reality holds sway. Access is open from all sides; be it through a colonnade from the rear or by other openings right and left. The centre of the apartment—the back wall of which is adorned with medallions—is occupied by the bridal couch, in the form of a small highly ornamented temple. Along the frieze, engaging groups of mermaids, centaurs, and sea-horses gaily disport themselves. The marriage rite is nowhere concealed. The bride, clothed only in some transparent drapery, is seated on the side of a wide couch. Ablutions have been concluded, for two handmaidens are seen to the left bearing aloft the needful vessels. The attendant nearest to the bride, and turning her back to the spectator, carries a marble vase on her head, supporting it with her left arm; while the other hand holds up the long *peplum* draping her form. This garment, leaving both arms free, exposes the left shoulder and a portion of the back. The activity of her ministrations is shown by the disorder of her head-dress; and locks of hair stray over forehead, cheek, and right shoulder. She gazes upon her mistress with an expression of faithful devotion. The second attendant, similar to the first in clothing, but with her tresses altogether unbound, bears a vessel and a napkin, and moving away, glances backwards to cast a cold look at the central group. The third attendant exhibits a sharp contrast to both her companions: she is a negress, and wears a white turban. She gazes shyly at the bridal pair from

¹ The translations which follow must not be taken as *literal*; but they convey, we believe, the sense of Foerster's admirable original.

behind one of the columns of the canopy, the while she draws back with her left hand the curtain concealing them from view.

Roxana is seated, her right leg crossed over the left. Her right arm rests on a cushion, and her glance is bent to the ground. Her left hand raises her garment slightly over the right ankle; whilst a Cupid, stooping on the ground, attempts, with sly looks and more zeal than success, to loosen the cords of her sandals. Her hair is decorated with ornaments fastened on the forehead by means of a ribbon, but the ends of the tresses are loosened and fall in ringlets,—one curl to the right, and the remainder to the left, over her bosom. The single diaphanous veil, which leaves both arms bare, and fails to conceal the outline of bust and torso, has fallen from her left shoulder on to the arm. A *putto*, poised on her left foot and caressing her cheek, his fingers playing with a lock of hair, uncovers her left side. His expression might be translated thus : *Look upon such beauty and die with longing*. This figure, clothed in a short kirtle and fluttering sash, would verily appear to enact the part of a handmaiden to the bride, *παράνυμφος* or *νυμφεύτρια*. A second *putto*, looking up from under her right leg, caresses the left foot, displaying unmistakable admiration by his upturned glances directed at the attendants.

Alexander, a fair youth with flowing locks, wears a cloak, armour, and leggings, and his helmet stands upon the ground before him. Advancing with an engaging smile towards the couch, he tenders Roxana an *Eastern crown*. A third Cupid precedes him, and, having wound a scarf or girdle round Alexander's right leg and left shoulder, is drawing him as it were towards felicity. A fourth crouches under Alexander's greaves, which he holds with both hands; apparently either to ease his shoulder from the burden, or more probably because he is playing at hide-and-seek with a comrade. A fifth conceals himself behind the figure of Hymen.

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A little way behind Alexander, in a very fine group, stand Hymen and Hephæstion, who appear rapt in admiring wonder at Roxana's beauty. Hymen is represented as a beautiful youth with hyacinthine curls, and a countenance in which the feelings of admiration and desire are consummately mingled. Raising his right arm, he gathers upon his hip, with the left, the folds of the long mantle that leave the larger portion of his body exposed. Hephæstion, resting his hand on Hymen's right shoulder, likewise directs his glance at the central group. Garbed like Alexander in cloak, armour, etc., he holds as groomsman, a lighted torch in his right hand: viz. *πάροχος, νυμφαγωγός, πάρανυμφος*. His features are broad, somewhat coarse, and the countenance naturally expresses greater realism than his companion's. A sixth Cupid, crouching behind Hymen, beside the pilaster by the entrance to the chamber, leans upon his right hand, and, holding Alexander's lance in his left, rests the weapon against his right shoulder. He has wound Alexander's scarf round his body, and his glance is turned towards the fourth Cupid. Two more Loves follow bearing a third, the smallest of their number, on Alexander's shield; or rather they are letting both fall in their fright on perceiving the fourth member of their group, who has blackened his face to resemble a negro, and having crept inside Alexander's cuirass, which stands at the extreme right of the picture, darts up suddenly while the shield-bearers march past in triumph. The tiniest of the Loves—borne upon the shield—starting backwards, clutches the ground with his left hand. The *putti* in this group seem to be wingless. Their leader and the blackamoor wear fillets round their heads, while No. 2 is clothed in a short garment or kirtle. The expression of all three is most attractive.

The open country beyond forms the background; a landscape where horsemen are seen riding past. Some cross a bridge, and are galloping along the road leading in the contrary direction. A steep hill on the opposite

river-bank rises, crowned by a castle, at the foot of which nestles a group of houses.

Amorini swarm everywhere in the bridal chamber. At the entrance we meet two, flying downwards with Alexander's sword, bow and quiver. A third, poised above Hephaestion's head, bow and shaft in hand, points with his right hand at the bridal pair, whom Love's bolt has just struck. Next to him a fourth hands an arrow to a fifth, who advances from behind the curtain over the canopy to receive the gift. Three other Cupids shoot their arrows right and left. Two more stand on the side of the canopy facing the entrance; one of whom has drawn the curtain around his body, so that only the eager little face, the legs, and part of the figure are visible. His companion crouches behind him. Two more Loves stand behind the canopy: one in the centre peeps through the curtain; the other at the left corner, intent upon extricating himself from the drapery, looks downwards at the female attendants. Yet another Cupid, flying above the head of the latter, discharges his arrows at Alexander. The action of this band of *Amorini* requires no explanation. The scene enacted before our eyes breathes an atmosphere of intense reality, allied with exquisite refinement in the infinite variety of their attitudes; and induces in the beholder a sense of deep and consummate harmony.

This wonderful composition was clearly inspired by Lucian's description of a picture by Aetion,¹ and

¹ Lucian writes: ἔστιν ἡ εἰκὼν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ γὰρ εἶδον, ὥστε καὶ σοὶ ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοιμι. θάλαμὸς ἐστὶ περικαλλὴς καὶ κλίνη νυμφικὴ, καὶ ἡ Ῥωξάνη κάθηται, πάγκαλόν τι χρῆμα παρθένου, ἐς γῆν ὁρῶσα αἰδουμένη ἐστῶτα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. Ἔρωτες δὲ τινες μειδιῶντες ὁ μὲν κατόπιν ἐφεστὼς ἀπάγει τῆς κεφαλῆς τὴν καλύπτραν καὶ δείκνυσσι τῷ νυμφίῳ τὴν Ῥωξάνην, ὁ δὲ τις μάλα δουλικῶς ἀφαιρεῖ τὸ σανδάλιον ἐκ τοῦ ποδός, ὡς κατακλίνοιτο ἤδη, ἄλλος τῆς χλανίδος τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπειλημμένος Ἔρως καὶ οὗτος ἔλκει αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν Ῥωξάνην πάνυ βιαίως ἐπισπώμενος, ὁ βασιλεὺς δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν στεφανόν τινα ὀρέγει τῇ παιδί, πάροχος δὲ καὶ νυμφαγωγὸς Ἡφαιστίων συμπάρεσσι δᾶδα καιομένην ἔχων μειρακίῳ πάνυ ὡραίῳ ἐπερειδόμενος, Ὑμέναιος ὀλμαί ἐστιν· οὐ γὰρ ἐπιγέγραπται τοῦνομα. ἐτέρωθι δὲ τῆς εἰκόνης ἄλλοι Ἔρωτες παίζουσιν

it may be advantageously studied in connection with the numerous drawings, in the various public and private collections throughout Europe,—so long attributed to Raphael,—and also with the frescoes by one of the master's pupils (possibly Perino del Vaga), painted in the so-called Villa of Raphael on the Pincian Hill, now preserved in the Casino Borghese in Rome. It should be observed that two contemporary writers¹ agree in recording a drawing by Raphael representing this very subject, which was, according to Vasari,² engraved by Agostino Veneziano. How far this drawing may have influenced Bazzi, or whether he even saw it before executing his work, must ever remain a matter of conjecture; but it would seem that the sketch for the principal figures, in the Uffizi Collection (Case 343, No. 1479), generally accepted (*pace* Foerster) as the work of Bazzi, may very well have been a rough copy by him, from some drawing originally sketched by his friend Raphael, and in-

ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, δύο μὲν τὴν λόγχην αὐτοῦ φέροντες, μιμούμενοι τοὺς ἀχθοφόρους, ὅποτε δοκὸν φέροντες βαροῦντο, ἄλλοι δὲ δύο ἕνα τινὰ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος κατακείμενον, βασιλέα δῆθεν καὶ αὐτόν, σύρουσι τῶν ὀχάνων τῆς ἀσπίδος ἐπειλημμενοί, εἰς δὲ δὴ ἐς τὸν θώρακα ἐσελθὼν ὕπτιον κείμενον λοχῶντι ἔοικεν, ὡς φοβήσειεν αὐτούς, ὅποτε κατ' αὐτὸν γένοιτο σύροντες. Cf. Adolfo Venturi, *The Farnesina*, pp. 67 *e seg.*: Rome (Edelweiss Series), 1891.

Foerster remarks that it is not evident how Bazzi became acquainted with Lucian's description, but it was probably through a Latin translation; since the Greek word *στεφανος* = a wreath, becoming *corona* = a crown, has been represented by the painter as an actual diadem.

¹ Lodovico Dolce, *Dialogo della Pittura*: "L' Aretino." Venezia, 1557 (*French and Italian*); Firenze, 1735; Milano (Biblioteca Rara), vol. x. 1863. Gio. Paolo Lomazzo, *Trattato dell' Arte della Pittura e della Scultura*. Milano, 1584.

² Vasari, *Op. cit.*, vol. v. p. 415, note⁶. It is now generally agreed that Jacopo Caraglio, and not Agostino Veneziano, was the author of this engraving.

tended as a note for his own proposed composition. The words "*di rafel da Urbin*" below, which seem to be contemporary with the drawing, and have led to so much discussion, are, we believe, in Bazzi's own handwriting,¹ and would indicate the likelihood of the drawing being a copy, made by an artist not too proud to accept a suggestion, in the form of a fragmentary conception that pleased his fancy. That Bazzi did not actually adopt that very grouping of the figures, we know; and that the painter of the inferior frescoes did, would suggest the conclusion, that this particular mode of illustrating Lucian's text was Raphael's. An exhaustive examination of all these drawings would require a volume to itself, and a digression here would occasion a serious break in the sequence of our narrative. We would therefore postpone the task, referring the student instead to Foerster's painstaking studies.²

"Sodoma's fresco" (he continues), "in my opinion, ranks among the finest productions of the *Classical Revival* of Renaissance art. If inferior to the *School of Athens*

¹ A comparison with his known handwriting certainly lends colour to this supposition.

² The drawing mentioned by Foerster on p. 12 of his essay in the *Jahrbücher (Hochzeit, etc.)* and numbered 3, which he believes to be lost, may perhaps be traced in a design belonging to Mr. J. P. Heseltine (196, Queen's Gate, London). This sketch answers to Foerster's description exactly. It was bought by its present owner at Sotheby's (Mr. Tiffin's sale), June 20th, 1891, where it was marked *Lot 206*. It had been in the possession successively of Timoteo Viti, Crozat, the Marquis de Legoy, Dimsdale, and Sir T. Lawrence—in whose collection it was numbered 63 and marked "T. L." It is signed "*Raffael da Urbino*."

Another interesting drawing is recorded by Frizzoni (*Op. cit.*, p. 142): *A design for Roxana's Bed*, No. 177 (formerly attributed to Baccio Bandinelli) in the Taylorian Museum at Oxford.

only in depth of grandeur of conception, this is due to the subject depicted, rather than to any inherent shortcoming in the execution; and I deem it one of Sodoma's best paintings, if not actually his masterpiece. The beneficent influence exercised over the artist by Leonardo da Vinci is clearly manifest. Sodoma's nature could not have reached those summits unaided, nor was his character capable of the sustained energy that sinks all other considerations in the work before him. Industry and the careful attention to details, without which no work can be perfected, are not everywhere equally evident. For instance, Alexander's and Hephaestion's garb are somewhat sketchily treated. Yet Leonardo's good genius or Sodoma's good fortune have piloted the undertaking to a triumphant conclusion. Roxana herself, and all accessories pertaining to her, are perfect: whether we admire most her form, attitude, colouring, expression, or drapery. Her head may well be considered the climax of creative fancy. Thus, too, Hymen, the attendants, and the Cupids; than all of whom, nothing finer and more subtly emotional can be conceived or drawn. The harmonious construction and beauty of the composition, the attraction of its inward meaning are unequalled anywhere; and I know of no painting by Sodoma to which Paolo Giovio's judgment applies in so marked a degree:—*Sodomas . . . quum impetuosum animum ad artem revocat admiranda perficit et adeo concitata manu, ut nihilo secius, quod mirum est, neminem eo prudentius atque tranquillius pinxisse appareat.*¹

Foerster rejects the statement of various critics² that Bazzi went to classical antiquity for his single figures. But although we may admit, comparing our artist's studies from the antique with those of Raphael, that in this respect he may

¹ Giovio, *Op. cit.*

² Jansen, *Op. cit.*, p. 102. Conze, *Heroen und Gottergestalten*, p. 32.

be said to have fallen behind his rival, it is nevertheless unquestionable that Bazzi did study the sculpture of his predecessors and contemporaries with more than common care and interest.

The frescoes on the east wall, though not without considerable—and even unusual—merit of their own, are decidedly inferior to the wonderful work just described.

Above the chimneypiece Bazzi painted the *Family of Darius before Alexander*: a composition which cannot be more adequately described than by quoting once more from Foerster's admirable essay :—

The principal wall-decoration of this side of the room is *Darius' tent* ; or, to speak more accurately, *Darius' family before Alexander*. A curtain, fastened to some tree trunks, drapes the background ; whilst ornamental hangings, suspended to the branches, form the tent roof. A landscape extends to the right and left of the tent. In the centre are grouped the principal personages, and in their midst we remark the most successful achievement in the whole composition : a fully-draped female figure, her hair bound with a fillet, her head and part of her form wrapped in a shawl, kneeling before Alexander with arms outstretched, and her countenance slightly upturned, imploring mercy. Although no signs of age are visible in her aspect, this is evidently intended for Sisigambis, the mother of Darius. Her three grandchildren stand behind her—the two girls draped and the boy nude. The first of these, with eyes downcast, clings in evident despair to the left arm of her companion, who looks up beseechingly at the king. A striking contrast is here afforded by the action of the bold, fearless-looking boy, who, clasping her right hand with both of his, draws forward the female figure behind him. The latter is a

mere girl ; her drapery discloses her arm and bust. She holds her left arm across her bosom,—the classic attitude of Venus,—and turns her head away from Alexander.

The circumstance that, amid her surroundings, this is the most striking figure, justifies the conjecture that she may be Darius' wife, and the mother of the boy. The artist himself bears a share of the responsibility of our uncertainty, for he has given her no special attribute, and her mien does not appear more distinguished than that of any of the other personages. Five females surround her ; their attitudes betokening the status of onlookers. Their glances are turned, some to the right and some to the left ; whilst the fourth and fifth are represented holding each other's hands. The first three, grouped right and left of Darius' wife, are seen only down to the waist. A most pleasing impression is produced by the fifth figure, already mentioned, whom we see in profile to the right, evidently gratified at the king's clemency. The two elder women, standing behind the girls, are probably their *duennas*. One of these, with downcast eyes, her head draped in a shawl, lays her left hand upon the left shoulder of the girl beside her ; whilst the other with her right hand caresses the cheek of her charge.

Alexander and his followers occupy the right side of the picture. Here again he is depicted as a youth with flowing locks, wearing a helmet and a full suit of armour, cloak, kilt, hose, leggings fastened at the knees, and buskins. Turning a genial countenance towards Darius' mother, with an encouraging gesture of his left hand, he extends his right towards her to assist her to rise. Beside him stands a youth, similar to himself in appearance and garb, —Hephaestion,—who, with left hand resting upon his sword, directs a kindly glance upon Sisigambis. The suite consists of warriors armed with lances, led by a standard-bearer. The workmanship of this part of the composition is very defective ; but Sodoma could not fail to seize the opportunity of displaying his love for animals ;

and he introduces into the picture, behind Hephaestion, a barking dog. A bridge in the background gives access to a body of troops; and a steep hill, topped by a castle, towers above. There is a tent on the nearer side of the bridge; before which groups of warriors are seen engaged in combat. The foreground is filled by horse and foot soldiers. Mention must be made of the male figure with bowed head, standing behind Sisigambis, who points with the finger of his right hand at Alexander; evidently indicating him rather than Hephaestion, as the king.¹

Below, divided into two portions by the fireplace, is *Vulcan's Forge*, concerning which Foerster writes as follows:—

To the left *Vulcan in his Smithy*, and to the right *Cupids bring their arrows to Vulcan to be sharpened*. Vulcan presents a short, thick-set and ungainly appearance. With his uncouth features almost hidden under an unkempt beard, bushy hair and shaggy eyebrows, he is—as Alberius styles him—a typical blacksmith. The proportions of the right leg are somewhat curtailed, only the toe touching the ground. The left knee rests on a wooden block, while the uplifted right arm swings the hammer, and the left hand grasps the pincers, with which he holds an arrow, head downwards, on to the anvil. A Cupid with fillet-bound hair leans on his quiver behind Vulcan's right shoulder, and, smiling the while, draws out his arrows. The painting fully merits the praise dealt out to it by Vasari. Vulcan is well designed and carefully painted.

The Loves to the right of the fireplace are three in number. The first carries his arrows on his left shoulder, holding them with his right hand, the second steadies them on his left shoulder with both hands, whilst a third

¹ Foerster gives the following authorities as sources of inspiration for this painting: Curtius, iii. 12, 15 *seg.*; Diodorus, xvii. 37 *seg.*; and Arrian, *Anabasis*, ii. 12, 6 *seg.*

stoops to pick up a few that have fallen. The first-mentioned is the best of the three figures.

The remaining frescoes are briefly described as follows :—

Alexander, on a prancing white charger, is observed galloping across the scene to the right, scattering his attendants before him. Others, among whom we notice a man wearing an Eastern crown,—perhaps King Philip,—watch the action with eagerly expectant mien. The latter stands with his left foot resting on a barrier running along the entire foreground, his right hand on the hilt of his sword. Another figure stands beside him, resting his folded arms upon an Ionic capital ; a third leans upon his comrade's shoulder. The very unsatisfactory effect of this painting is due to the ugly and distorted countenances of the several personages,—Alexander even included ; while the architectural portion is undoubtedly the most notable feature of the work. A temple rises behind Alexander, in close proximity to a structure somewhat resembling the Colosseum ; and further back we discern parts of Constantine's Basilica, exactly as it stands to this day. The pilasters on either side of the central vaulting alone are visible. In the foreground lies the wolf, suckling Romulus and Remus ; and two camels look upon the scene from behind.

The picture has been so cruelly restored as to blot out all traces of Bazzi's original work. Doubt, indeed, has arisen, whether the painting was executed by him at all, and—such is the irony of fate—it has even been attributed to the spiteful Vasari himself.¹ The primary conception is fine,

¹ Foerster, with reason, points out that a rather ambiguous expression in Crowe and Cavalcaselle (*History of Painting in Italy*, vol. iii. p. 392) can in no wise convey the idea that this painting was in their opinion the work of Beccafumi.

and the composition as a whole has been paralleled with Raphael's *Expulsion of Heliodorus* in the Vatican; to which it does indeed bear certain superficial resemblance. It is unquestionably, however, a vastly inferior work, and stands in unpleasant contrast with the fine paintings which adorn the adjacent walls.

It was during this visit to Rome, no doubt, that Bazzi met and formed a warm friendship with Pietro Aretino. This remarkable personality,—a true offspring of the Italian Renaissance,¹—born in 1492, out of wedlock, left Arezzo, his native city, at an early age for Perugia, where he followed the trade of a bookbinder. A passionate thirst for knowledge led him to study attentively the works that passed through his hands in the course of his daily labours; and at the age of twenty, ambitious for higher things, he started for Rome on foot, with no clothes in his possession but those he actually wore. Here he became acquainted with Agostino Chigi, whose patronage procured for him the honour of a presentation to Pope Leo X. If, therefore, as we have endeavoured to prove, Bazzi's work at the Farnesina was executed in 1514, the friendship between scholar and painter, so touchingly alluded to in the charming letter, written to the latter in August 1545,² must have struck root at this time.

¹ For a most just and able estimate of the character of this remarkable man, the reader may be referred to a thoughtful essay by Arturo Graf, entitled, *Un Processo a Pietro Aretino (Attraverso il Cinquecento)*. Torino: Loescher, 1888.

² Pietro Aretino, *Lettere*: Parigi, 1609, lib. iii. p. 163; cf. also *Mil. Doc.*, vol. iii. p. 155, No. 92. APPENDIX No. 30.

We may fairly submit, without fear of imputation of partiality, that these Farnesina frescoes give the lie to many of Vasari's insinuations. Where in the Alexander and Roxana Idyll do we detect a trace of lewdness? The splendid young conqueror, with his two handsome attendants, advances with a bridegroom's ardour, hallowed by respect towards his lovely bride. Roxana, her eyes modestly cast down, receives him with demure yet conscious grace; whilst her maidens look on with affectionate solicitude. The swarm of Cupid attendants all express the purest and noblest emotions. No coarse or suggestive antics mar the exquisitely harmonious charm of the composition. Here, if ever, was an opportunity for indulgence—if not in absolute obscenity—at least in licence bordering thereon.¹ Chigi was a man of easy, even dissolute habits. He had but just returned from Venice with his beautiful mistress, to whom he only consented to be united later,—after eight years' cohabitation,—under urgent pressure from the Holy Father himself; and Bazzi would hardly have been rebuked had he chosen to indulge in ribald pleasantries. These compositions speak volumes to the painter's credit; and even J. Richardson the Younger,² in his violent abuse of these paintings

¹ We have only to compare these works with those of Raphael's pupils elsewhere: all contemporaries, be it remarked, of Bazzi. Notably in the palaces at Mantua in the days of Isabella d'Este.

² *Traité de la peinture et de la sculpture*, tom iii. p. 194. Amsterdam: Herman Utwerf, 1728. "Excepté un certain air général de l'École Romaine, les Peintures de cette Chambre sont bien le plus exécrable ouvrage que l'Art ait produit dans cet Age d'or. Il n'y a pas un seul bon Air de Tête, pas une bonne Attitude, pas un Membre bien dessiné, ni aucune Pensée qui se fasse remarquer par sa beauté. La Description de

as *works of art*, can find nothing to say against their ideal conception.¹

During this same sojourn in Rome, Bazzi, it is probable, once more entered the orbit and came under the influence of his good genius, Leonardo da Vinci. The Master, we are aware, journeyed to Rome early in 1513 in the train of Giuliano de' Medici, to attend the coronation of Leo X., and remained there until 1515. His whilom admirer, if not disciple, could thus scarcely fail to have again sought his company. The assonance between the drawings and paintings of these two artists is so extraordinary, and has been so fruitful in controversy and argument between critics past and present, as to show conclusively that their intimacy at some time in their lives must have been close, and the influence of the elder painter over the younger, something altogether surpassing the ordinary. The number of drawings once attributed to Leonardo, which are now generally (following Morelli) given to Bazzi, con-

Lucien vaut bien la peine qu'on la lise ; quand ce ne sert que pour se consoler un peu de satisfaction qu'on a eu à voir cette mauvaise Peinture. Il est impossible que le Tableau ait surpassé en beauté la Description que cet auteur en fait." This writer also states that the smaller guide-books to Rome in his day attributed these frescoes to two Mantuan artists, Giovanni Battista Bertano, and Rinaldo.

¹ For further discussion and information the student may also refer to Hermann Grimm, *Kunst und Kunstgeschichte*, June 1880. Alfred Woltmann und Karl Woermann, vol. ii. pp. 662-94, Part IV., div. iii. G. Leipzig : Seemann, 1882. Richard Graul, *Die graphischen Künste*, xvi. Jahrgang., ii. Heft, p. 33 ff., 1893. A. Venturi, *Op. cit.*, pp. 11 *e seg.* J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle, *Raphael, his Life and Works*. London : John Murray, 1885, vol. ii. pp. 545-7. Steinmann, *Op. cit.*, p. 186. Frizzoni, *Intorno alla Dimora del Sodoma a Roma nel 1514: (Giornale di Erudizione Artistica)*, vol. i. pp. 208-13, fasc. vii., Luglio 1872); and *L'Arte del Rinascimento*, *cit.* p. 138 *e seg.*

stitutes a most eloquent argument in support of this contention. Bazzi's work, to the end of his life, never lost the Leonardesque touch: a touch which he transmitted, though in a strangely degraded form, to his followers. Bazzi's types, however—strongly Leonardesque though they be—never manifest that expression of underhand wicked cunning, which lurks in the eyes and behind the smile of the greater master's creations; but the tender dignity of mien, which distinguished the creations of his fancy, eventually became a snare to himself and a worse pitfall to his imitators.

CHAPTER VII

MIDDLE PERIOD

AN incident of considerable importance in our artist's life, in connection with the painting which earned for him the title of *Cavalier of Christ*, occurs about this time, and must be now examined.

Vasari rambles on with his narrative as though the event in question had followed in rapid sequence upon the Farnesina commission; which, as we have said, he would place *immediately* posterior to the dismissal of the painter from the Vatican. But we should in all fairness pause to study a few more dates, before accepting such unwarrantable conclusions.

We know that Leo X. was not elected Pope until March 11th, 1513, and we have reason to believe that Bazzi's Farnesina work was completed some time in the following year. We should next point out that in the letter, already referred to more than once, from the Prince of Piombino, dated June 18th, 1515, Bazzi is still styled only *Ioan Antonio di Averzé mio servitore*. In the same year also his name appears in the books of the Opera del Duomo Siena as *Magister Johannes Antonius alias Sodoma Pictore*, and *Giovan Antonio detto el Sodoma, dipentore*. Again, in the ledgers of the Compagnia di S. Bernardino¹—wherein, be

¹ ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI SIENA. *Carte della Compagnia di S. Bernardino in Siena*. Reg. 221, f. 39.

it noted, there occurs the famous designation *Miss. Giovannantonio de Tizoni detto il Soddoma, pittore da Verzè*—he is described in all the entries, which are dated as late as December 31st, 1518, with the prefix of *Maestro* or *Messer*. It is only in *one* of the two copies of a subsequent entry, dated June 16th, 1532, that he is given the title of *Cavaliere*. Scribes in those days were admittedly careless, and even in later years we find this title frequently omitted. Nevertheless the fact remains that the first authoritative reference to his title appears in an instrument dated January 11th, 1516-17.¹ In this document he is styled *Giovanni Antonio da Verzè dipintore et cavaliere*, a circumstance which suggests the following train of ideas.

Bazzi, we gather from the Prince of Piombino's letter, was in Florence about the middle of June 1515, but returned to Siena before the end of the month. During that autumn, or early in the following spring (1516), he appears, from a letter dated May 3rd, 1518, to Francesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, to have meditated a visit to Mantua to convey a picture of *Lucretia*,²—possibly an order from that Prince on the occasion of one of the Sienese *Palii*, to which we have referred earlier in these pages. On November 30th, 1515, Leo X., on his way to meet Francis I. at

¹ Cf. p. 155, *post*.

² ARCHIVIO DI STATO IN MANTOVA. 1518, 3 Maggio. Schuchhardt (*Op. cit.*) points out that Bazzi's reference in this letter to a *Lucretia* seems to suggest that such a painting had been executed at a period already sometime past. Vasari's statement that it was made with the specific object of ingratiating himself with Leo X. may after all the taken with some reserve; especially seeing how bitter is the tone of the sentences in which he conveys this piece of information,

Bologna, paid his first visit to Florence as Supreme Pontiff; and remained there (several periods of absence intervening) until February 17th, 1516. It should be borne in mind that His Holiness stood on terms of more than ordinary friendship with Agostino Chigi; and he had no doubt both seen and admired the work of Bazzi at the Farnesina. Our artist may even have been presented to him there, and perhaps to Giuliano de' Medici also. Thus Chigi can truly be said to have introduced the painter to the Pope. Bazzi himself, in a letter to Alfonso d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, of the same date¹ as the above epistle to Gonzaga, says, "when I was with His Holiness, Pope Leo in Florence"; a remark which from the context would lead us to infer that he was attached in some capacity to the Papal train. Giuliano, desiring to do honour to his brother, and being aware doubtless of his appreciation of the Farnesina frescoes, may have secured this *Lucretia*, either as a present from himself or as a direct commission from the Pope. We know, at any rate, from the painter's own letter, that Giuliano did annex a painting of this subject; and since the first official allusion to the *Cavalier's* title occurs soon after the conclusion of the Papal visit to Florence, indirect testimony would favour our contention that Florence first, and not Rome, saw Bazzi knighted; and that the *Lucretia* of the letter and the *Lucretia* recorded by Vasari were really one and the same.

Another point, which would seem to lend weight to the foregoing argument, is the Poem by Eurialo

¹ ARCHIVIO ESTENSE (DI STATO) IN MODENA. 1518, 3 Maggio.

Morani d'Ascoli, to which reference has been made in Chapter I. The collection of Epigrams,¹ which includes this poem, was printed in Siena in the February of this selfsame twelvemonth, and the subject of the verses is a painting of *Lucretia* by Bazzi.² The coincidence in date of the events (viz., the painting of the picture, the grant of the title, and the publication of the poem) seems too remarkable to be altogether fortuitous; and renders a direct connexion between them more than a mere contingency. The poet Eurialo Morani, a native of Ascoli Piceno, was, according to various authorities,³

¹ Euriali Morani Asculani, *Op. cit.* Cf. p. 22, ante.

² It is worth noting here, perhaps, that Leo X. himself, when cardinal, had written a set of Latin Iambics upon an antique statue of *Lucretia*, then recently found in Rome. (See Roscoe's *Life of Leo X.*, vol. ii., Appendix, p. 430.)

³ From Mazzuchelli (*Gli Scrittori d'Italia, cioè Notizie Storiche e critiche intorno alle Vite, e agli Scritti dei Letterati Italiani del Conte Giammaria Mazzuchelli Bresciano*. Brescia: Gianbatista Bossini, 1753, vol. i. part. ii. p. 1157) we gather concerning this personage as follows:—ASCOLI (Eurialo d'), a well-known poet of the sixteenth century, is mentioned by Crescimbeni (*Storia della Volgare Poesia*, vol. v. p. 92) in the following terms:—"This rhymester was of the very noble family, now extinct, of Morani of Ascoli, Lords of Castella. He flourished in high repute at the time of Leo X., who held him in great favour; and was also on the best of terms with the principal literary personages of the century: especially with Caro, Tolomei and Molza. He composed works in Greek, Latin and Tuscan; but his rhymes are rarely to be met with. In particular some of his poems are included in the second part of the *Stanze Diversi*, published by Giolito in 1563. He was living also at the time of the taking of Algiers by Charles V.; on which occasion he composed a poem, which he recited by heart before the Emperor himself, who gave him a collar of gold, as appears in the *Ateneo Ascolano*, compiled by the Jesuit Father Paolo Antonio Appiani, from which work (unpublished at the death of the author) we have taken these notices. We have also seen a Latin epigram by him annexed to the translation of the *Dialogo del Segreto* of l'etrarch, printed by the Sienese Francesco Orlandino, in 1517, wherein he describes himself with his name, surname and place of birth,—i.e., *Eurialo Morani Ascolani*." To these notices from Crescimbeni, Mazzuchelli adds the following salutation from a

a very lively personage, whose songs and improvisations are mentioned with complacency by Benvenuto Cellini¹ in 1524. He was a friend of Pietro Aretino, and in all probability also one of the boon companions, who flocked to the Papal Court in 1514, and gathered round Chigi's hospitable board. His allusion to a *Lucrezia* at this

letter by Pietro Aretino to a certain Coriolano: "*Basciatemi Aurialo d'Ascoli nostro fratello, e giocondo spirito della piacevolezza*" (*Lettere del Aretino*, vol. ii. p. 300, Paris edition). In another letter (vol. vi. p. 75) Aretino says that there are between himself and Eurialo two bodies with but one soul. It is probably this same personage, whom, under the name of *Aurialo Orfeo*, Pietro incites to sing the praises of the Queen of France in his *Ternali*, referred to in the same volume of his Letters as follows:—

" *Il possente suo plettro, Aurialo Orfeo
Dedica all' alta Donna: poiché aggiungi
con esso ai merti d' ogni Semideo.*"

Mazzuchelli adds further that Eurialo wrote besides, *Stanze sopra le statue di Laconte, di Venere, e di Apollo* (Roma, Valerio Dorico e Luigi, Fratelli Bresciani, 1539). Others are also to be found on page 398 of the second part of the *Stanze di diversi autori*, collected by Antonio Termino (Venezia: Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1572). Eighty-three *Stanze sopra l' Impresa de l'Aquila*, and thirty-nine to *Invittissimo Carlo V. sempre Augusto*, are in a MS. by the celebrated Apostolo Zeno (*Memor. MSS. de' Poeti Italiani*, tom. i.), upon which appears the following inscription: "*Questo libricciuolo è certamente lo stesso che dal Poeta fu presentata a Carlo V. la cui Impresa col motto Plus Ultra e la cui Aquila Imperiale si vede disegnata nella coperta al di fuori ornata di rabeschi a oro.*" Furthermore a diverting letter full of rhyming quotations in Latin addressed to Cardinal Sant'Angelo is printed by Turchi, *Lettere Facete e piacevoli*, etc. Finally Anton Francesco Doni (*La Libreria*. Venezia: Gabriele Giolito de Ferrari, 1558, tratt. i. p. 42; tratt. ii. p. 210) records the existence of other works, among them sixty-five stanzas entitled *Vita Disperata*, dedicated by the poet to himself, and published in Venice by Bernardino Bindoni, 1542, with a poem on the death of Ariosto attached to it; and a *Dialogo di Tantalo e di un Poeta*, which seems to have remained in MS. Tiraboschi (*Op. cit.*) mentions having seen in the Library at Milan a volume of *Stanze di varii soggetti* by this poet, printed in Rome by Dorico in 1536.

¹ *Vita di Benvenuto Cellini* (Ediz. Francesco Tassi). Firenze: Guglielmo Piatti, 1829, vol. i. p. 131, note 2.

moment is important; since the dates given above would support the presumption that such a picture was already painted: and perhaps had even started on its way to Mantua when it was impounded by the Medici. Undue weight has been given, as we have already pointed out, to the last four lines of this poem; and the suppression of the context deprives us of a valuable aid in identifying the picture itself.¹

The year 1515 saw our artist, under powerful patronage, entering his horses to race in Florence, and at the same time accepting commissions from the Opera del Duomo in Siena. But the next event in his career, documentarily recorded, is one to which we have already alluded briefly: to wit, that on January 11th, 1516-17,² *Lorenzo di Giuliano di Lorenzo di Balduccio of Castel della Pieve*, a master carpenter, acting as guardian to his younger brother, *Matteo*, apprenticed the latter to *Messer Giovanni Antonio da Verzè, dipintore et cavaliere habitante nella Città di Siena* for six years, dating from the previous Feast of S. Mary of August (the *Assumption*). This document may profitably be confronted with the deed dealing with Bazzi's own articles to

¹ Cf. *post*, p 165.

² ARCH. NOT. PROV. SIENA. *Rogiti di Ser Alessandro di Ser Francesco Martini*. 1516-17, 11 di Gennaio. (*Mil. Doc.*, vol. iii. p. 72, No. 33.)

According to the present filing of the papers in these Archives, this document is to be found under the head of *UMANI, Ser Alessandro di Ser Francesco d' Antonio di Lucignano in Val di Chiana*. The search for it entailed much trouble, because the files of *Ser Alessandro di Ser Francesco Martini* do not commence until 1519. This document is of special interest since it is the *first official record* wherein Bazzi is styled *Cavaliere*.

Martino Spanzotto.¹ The details are, however, briefer and less elaborate. A noteworthy point is a clause inserted to explain the elder Balducci's inability to write, and setting forth the position of his proxy.

Controversy has been rife over the identity of this *Matteo*; and it seems tolerably clear that *two* individuals—perhaps relations—must have borne the name in question. Comm. Corrado Ricci² states that *Matteo Balducci* was a pupil of Pinturicchio, and was subsequently transferred to Bazzi's "*bottega*" on the death of the older master. We are, however, met with the impossibility of reconciling this statement with authenticated dates. We learn that *Matheo Balducci de Ospitale Frontignani comitatus perusini* was one of the witnesses to an instrument executed on January 17th, 1509,³ in Pinturicchio's house. From his presence on that occasion Ricci argues membership *in statu pupillari* of the Betti household. Surely such a proposition is somewhat far-fetched? It is not easy to understand how a youth, who,—even if we extend the term of minority to the extreme limit of twenty-five years,—was still *under age*

¹ Cf. p. 32, *ante*.

² Corrado Ricci, *Pintoricchio: His Life, Work, and Time*. (Trans. by Florence Simmonds.) London: Heinemann, 1902, p. 52.

³ ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI SIENA. *Rogiti di Ser Ansano Pallagrossa*. 1508 (st. sen.), 17 Gennaio.

"Anno Domini 1508, Indictione XII. Die xvij Januarij. Omnibus et singulis evidenter appareat qualiter Magister Bernardinus Benedicti de Perusio pictor, alias el Pentoricchio fecit suum procuratorem Cellerinum caudidicum de Senis ad lites et causas, ad agendum in qualibet Curia, etc. Actum in domo dicti magistri Bernardini, presentibus Francisco Thome et Matheo Balducci de Ospitale Frontignani Comitatus perusini. Cf. *Nuovi Documenti cit.*, p. 391."

in January 1517, could have been a legal witness *eight years before*. Had Matteo been of full age when his Articles of Apprenticeship were entered into, need his brother have acted *in loco parentis* for him? Moreover several years of his minority presumably had yet to run, or he would scarcely have been bound for *six* years. In fact, the terms of the document clearly point to the conclusion that the "*garzone*" in question was a *young lad commencing his career*. Finally, since Pinturicchio died in 1513, why should a pupil of his have waited nearly four years before entering fresh employment?

An even stronger argument against the identity of these two individuals is to be found in the pictures generally attributed to "*Matteo Balducci*." The only documentarily recorded work by this painter has disappeared.¹ This was an altarpiece representing the Saviour with SS. Thomas, Anthony of Padua, James, and Bartholomew, for the Church of S. Bartolommeo at Piancastagnaio. Tradition nevertheless has always ascribed to him the pleasing painting of the *Assumption* over the first altar (Borghese Chapel) on the north side of the church of S. Spirito in Siena; and upon the style of this picture critics have based other attributions. The mannerisms are so clearly marked, and so obviously derived from Pinturicchio's methods, as to suggest, without fear of disproof, that the painter,—whoever he was,—must have been one of that master's disciples. It is not

¹ *Mil. Doc.*, vol. iii. p. 73. Michelangelo Gualandi, *Memorie Originale di Belle Arti*, serie seconda, p. 17. Bologna, 1841. *Allogazione* al 3 Agosto, 1523.

conceivable that a painter, whose style, like that of the S. Spirito artist, had matured so completely,—aping, almost aggressively in fact, that of Pinturicchio,—should have required the training of a totally different teacher; or that, having received such training as Bazzi's, he would not have shown signs of it in subsequent works.

Whether Matteo, the youth, left any separate trace behind him as an artist we do not know. That he did not complete his term seems evident, since the gap in Bazzi's career from 1519 to 1525—to which we shall presently allude—coincides with most of the period in question. He probably, however, assisted his master in the work for the Compagnia di S. Bernardino, which we are now about to describe.

The chapels of this Confraternity are situated on the Prato di S. Francesco, beside the west door of that church. The Brotherhood was originally styled *La Compagnia della Vergine Maria degli Angeli, o della Veste Nera*; and the walls of the upper chapel, wherein our painter was now to labour, had been decorated by one Marco di Giovanni,¹ concerning whom nothing is known beyond an agreement wherein—with the assistance of his son Baldassare (also unrecorded elsewhere)—he covenants to paint the history of Joseph for the sum of *grossi (ducati?) dieci*. In his note on this

¹ ARCHIVIO detto. *Pergamene dei Luoghi Pii e dei pubblici Stabilimenti*, No. 351. 1485, 10 di Novembre. “Maestro Marco di Giovanni, dipintore, toglie a dipingere nella Compagnia della Vergine Maria delle Veste Nera la storia di Giuseppe.” *Mil Doc.*, vol. ii. p. 412.

The work is described as “*di biancheggiato*”; perhaps a species of *grisaille*.

document, Milanesi informs us that these designs were removed in or about the year 1510 to make room for the work of Bazzi, Beccafumi, and Pacchia. However this may be, these artists do not appear to have entered upon their task there until some eight years afterwards; and in the case of Bazzi the undertaking was not completed until 1532.

The accounts setting forth the sums expended by the Confraternity will be found printed in full in the APPENDIX;¹ but it should be observed that in the Record Book the entries appear in duplicate: first in a separate account with each painter, and afterwards in a comprehensive memorandum embracing the whole work. All these (except the last payment to Bazzi in 1532) are entered in the same handwriting; and it is only once, in the *separate items* for his earlier work,—and there *alone*,—that the much discussed expression, "*Miss. Giovannantonio de Tizoni detto il Sodoma pittore da Verzè*," occurs. As we have already had occasion to remark, he is also here described but *once* as "*Cavaliere*," and then only in *one* of the copies of the very *latest* entry.

The frescoes painted by our artist for the Confraternity at this date are six in number, and of greatly varying excellence. The first two, the *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple* and the *Visitation*,²

¹ Cf. APPENDIX No. 15. It cannot be too emphatically repeated—since so many writers have gone astray on the point—that the figure of S. Bernardino, the Patron of the Society, is *not* by Bazzi, but by Pacchia, who received 8 lire 56 soldi for his work.

² It is curious to note that all record of this work is omitted from the accounts. Its companion subject, the *Assumption*, was the particular work left unpainted until 1532.

are awkwardly composed and generally unpleasing; although both scenes, the first-named especially, contain several charming single figures and heads. The grouping and architecture of the *Presentation* recall the Monte Oliveto Cycle; but both this work and the *Visitation* suggest hasty inception and neglect to formulate any definite scheme, prior to the actual representation of the sacred subjects. Forms and heads are inserted behind the principal groups, apparently without definite purpose or meaning, except to fill empty spaces; whilst the proportions of the figures in the foreground are out of keeping with those in the middle distance.¹ The third great fresco, the *Coronation*, however, is a far finer work, composed as though the painter had this time really endeavoured to overcome his besetting sin; albeit the rearward groups are still somewhat crowded and imperfectly characterized. The exquisite figure of the kneeling Virgin shows what Bazzi could do; and her refined loveliness stands forth in sharp contrast to the prevailing absence of spirituality. But the effigy of God the Father lacks distinction, and is conceived in a Pagan rather than a Christian spirit; a defect shared likewise by several of the other personages. The fine modelling of the nude figures suggests painstaking and enthusiastic study from the antique; but the bank of clouds is woolly and sodden; whilst

¹ Among the drawings at Wilton House (collection of the Earl of Pembroke)—published by the late Mr. S. Arthur Strong—is a sketch for one of the groups in the *Presentation*. It is somewhat doubtful, however, whether the sketch is a genuine one by the master himself, and not a later copy. Another drawing, apparently for this same work, is to be found in the Louvre portfolios (No. 88, Reiset's Catalogue).

the playful cherubs, cleaving their way upward through them, seem to emerge from a solid mass resembling nothing so much as a feather-bed.

The three saints: Louis of Toulouse, Francis of Assisi and Anthony of Padua, possess in a marked degree,—especially the two former,—that gentle grace and spiritual impressiveness so characteristic of Bazzi's single figures.

The prices paid by the Confraternity for each of these works may, since it varies very considerably, be an indication of the relative care and industry bestowed upon their composition. Comparing Bazzi in this instance with his competitors, not only are we struck by the wide distance that separates them through the superiority and originality of his genius, but we cannot fail also to perceive how strong was his influence over them. Even Vasari,¹ speaking of Beccafumi, owns somewhat grudgingly that the fame of Bazzi's drawing, and the desire to profit by his example, were the incentives which brought that clever draughtsman (though mediocre artist) back to Siena. Pacchia openly accepted Bazzi's methods; and frequently attained such success in consequence, that to distinguish between his work and that of his greater rival is a question provocative of much controversy.

One curious and hitherto overlooked point in connection with the S. Bernardino accounts now compels our attention: namely, the circumstance that they are stated to have been made up—and

¹ Vasari, *Op. cit.*, vol. v. pp. 635 and 649. Speaking of Beccafumi's work, the biographer by mistake attributes to his favourite Bazzi's *Visitation*, instead of the *Marriage of the Virgin*.

were presumably paid—*addì ultimo di Dicembre 1518*. Now, if this were the case, Bazzi must have remained in Siena *until the beginning of 1519*, and did *not* carry out in the *summer of 1518* the intention expressed in his letters of May 3rd. There seems no valid reason for the suggestion that he had either completed his work earlier in that year, or had been paid in advance; or, again, that the money was either sent after him, or reserved until his reappearance in Siena in 1525. The death of Francesco Gonzaga on March 29th, 1519, which plunged both the princely houses of Gonzaga and Este into mourning, may also account for the absence of any further correspondence between the painter and his noble patrons. It is worthy of note, however, that in the voluminous correspondence still existing of Francesco's brilliant and talented consort, Isabella d'Este, regarding pictures and other works of art—either with her agents or with the artists themselves—no allusion to Bazzi ever occurs: nor, beyond these two letters to her husband and brother, is there any trace of further communication with our artist. It is possible, perhaps even more, probable, that the misfortunes by fire and otherwise,¹ which have overtaken the Mantuan and Ferrarese Archives, are responsible for the total disappearance of valuable documents, which might have thrown light upon this obscure period of our painter's history.

On May 3rd, 1518, the painter wrote the two following letters: to the Marquis of Mantua and the Duke of Ferrara respectively:—

¹ The letter to Alfonso d'Este quoted here has been badly burnt.

TO THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS LORD FRANCESCO DE GONZAGA,
MARQUIS.¹

To Mantua to his Most Honourable Lord—to Mantua.

Most illustrious Lord, the Lord most honoured by me, Health.—Some days ago, when passing through Siena, on his way to Rome, Signor Aloysius, the brother and relative of Your most Illustrious Lordship, deigning to come to my room, and going through the garden at his leisure, I told him that I had a wish that you should have something of my work as a memorial of my duty. He told me that to make a picture of the *Madonna with her Infant and S. Francis* would be most agreeable to you. I would much prefer to know if you have any other desire, and in such case, God willing, I will come and visit your Illustrious Lordship, and bring with me the said picture. I had made a *Lucretia* for Your Illustrious Lordship, but on my way to present it, it was seen in Florence by his Magnificence Giuliano, and I was compelled to leave it with him. I pray Your Ill. Lordship will certainly deign a very small reply to let me know His wishes, and I am always ready to please Him, to whom may God give happiness for a long period.

E.D.V.S.,

3rd May, 1518.

IO ANTONIUS SODONA (*sic*),

Knight of Siena (*Eques Senis*).

TO FERRARA.

TO THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS LORD, LORD ALFONSO
D'ESTE, DUKE, HIS MOST HONOURABLE LORD.

Most illustrious Lord, Lord by me most honoured by humble commendation, Health.—This is to inform you that some time since, when I was with His Holiness

¹ *Nuovi Documenti*, p. 412, No. 209. It is as well to observe that the heading of this document as printed here,—contradicting the letter itself,—runs as follows: "Lettera di Gio. Anton. Bazzi detto il Sodoma a Francesco Gonzaga Duca di Mantova con la quale offre al Duca. . . ." For the originals of both these letters cf. APPENDIX Nos. 16 and 16A.

Pope Leo in Florence, your ambassador gave me a commission for your Lordship to make a *S. George* on horseback killing the dragon (*viper*), which I now have finished, and hold in readiness for your Lordship. A few days ago, not far from Siena, by chance, I met the Ferrarese messenger della Colonna, your servant, and I told him that the said picture was altogether at the service of your lordship. And he promised to inform your most Illust. Lordship.

I hope in the coming Summer to go to interview the Marquis of Mantua, for whom I have made certain pictures, and peradventure I shall come as far as to visit your Illust. lordship, and bring with me the said picture. I pray that if your lordship wishes for anything else . . . by sending me a very small reply, I shall be most agreeable to do anything that may be pleasing to your most Illust. Lordship, to whom I most humbly recommend myself, and that God will give you happiness for a long time.

E.D.V.S.,

3rd May, 1518.

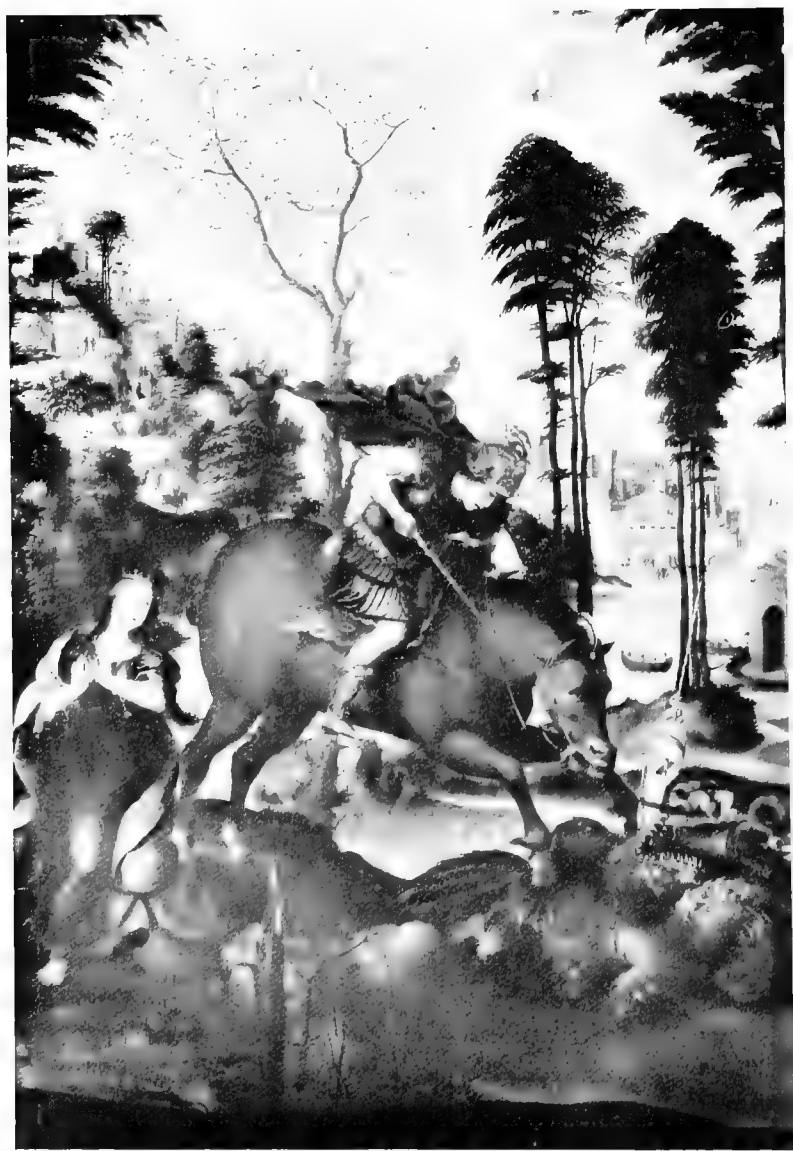
IO ANTONIUS SODONA.¹

Knight of Siena.

In these two letters, which corroborate each other in several important instances, we find mention of three pictures—namely, a *Madonna and Child with S. Francis*, a *Lucretia*, and a *S. George*. It is always a somewhat invidious venture to dogmatize concerning the identity of pictures on such slender evidence as is afforded in this case; but it would seem not unreasonable to infer,—both from the style of the painting and other similar indications,

¹ *Nuovi Documenti*, p. 421, No. 212. The former of the documents was discovered by the late Marchese Giuseppe Campori, and the latter by Cav. Adolfo Venturi, who published it in his *La Reale Galleria Estense*. Modena, 1882.

It is to be observed that in both these letters our artist calls himself SODONA.



ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON.

SIR FREDERICK COOK'S COLLECTION, RICHMOND.

—that the *S. George*¹ may be sought to-day in the collection of Sir Frederic Cook at Doughty House, Richmond. The *Madonna and Child* we might perhaps also trace in the picture belonging to Alexander Henderson, Esq., M.P. (Buscot Park, Berks). And, lastly, the *Lucretia* may be the one now in the Royal Gallery at Turin. We have already stated our reasons for proposing, on historical grounds, that this work may be identical with the painting that came into the possession of Leo X. : but it also seems to us that the *nudity* is more obvious here than in the Kestner example, which critics have hitherto fixed upon as the *Lucretia* thus recorded by Vasari. Furthermore, the lines—

Cur te non duro penetras Lucretia ferro
Quod tenet hinc *consors* quod tenet inde *pater*,

from Eurialo Morani's poem referred to above (since they indicate the presence of at least two other persons in the composition), certainly tend to support our argument.²

¹ This work is said to have been bought in Siena by the late Earl of Shrewsbury. See *Catalogue of Pictures of the Lombardo-Milanese School* exhibited by the Burlington Fine Arts Club, London, 1898, No. 34. It is perhaps worthy of note that a *canvas* (1 m. 75 cm. × 1 m. 13 cm.) representing this same subject, and attributed to *Jean Antoine Razzi* (sic), was sold from the collection of Don Marcello Massarenti in Rome in 1877, Lot 40.

² Vasari (*Op. cit.*, vol. vi. p. 396) describes another *Lucretia*, painted by Bazzi for Assuero Rettori da S. Martino, thus : “Una tela che fece per Assuero Rettori da San Martino, nella quale è una Lucrezia Romana che si ferisce, mentre è tenuta dal padre e dal marito ; fatti con belle attitudini e bella grazia di teste.” Here we are told that the father and husband of the unfortunate heroine were also represented ; and that the whole was remarkable “for the charming attitudes and the fine grace of the heads.” This painting may perhaps be recognised in the

As we have seen, then, the evidence of the S. Bernardino accounts would suggest that Bazzi did not leave Siena until January 1519. From that date until 1525, he disappears from our view.

Endless conjectures have been formed as to his place of residence and doings during these six years.¹ The fact that at about this period Michel Angelo Anselmi reappeared in his native town of Parma, would seem to suggest that the master did turn his steps northwards, and that the disciple accompanied him. And from certain very perplexing paintings still to be found in the Emilian cities, it would seem as though they had worked there together. An example of this possible collaboration is to be seen in the church of S. Prospero at Reggio: *S. Homobonus giving Alms*. It is a remarkable work, full of power, yet at the same time exhibiting deficiencies of technique, which are positively grotesque. Frizzoni at first attributed the painting to Bazzi himself: a belief which he afterwards, on further reflection, thought fit to abjure.²

panel now in the collection of Herr Weber at Hamburg. It is a fine and beautiful work; darkened, however, by time and restoration. The record of yet one more *Lucretia* is documentarily handed down to us: namely, in the Inventory of pictures left in our artist's studio at his death (cf. APPENDIX No. 31). From the fact that it appears in connection with a portrait of Pandolfo Petrucci (which would seem to have been stored away for a long period), might we not suggest that this *Lucretia* is the one now in the Kestner Museum: ordered by the tyrant and never delivered? Further, we might even propose that by the *Leda*, which precedes it in the list, is intended the so-called *Charitas*, in the Berlin Gallery—of which we have also made mention above.

¹ There is in fact no existing evidence of an actual visit to Ferrara or Mantua at all.

² Frizzoni, *Op. cit.*, p. 152, note. Venturi proposes to attribute it to Bernardino Zacchetti, an obscure Reggian painter (*L'Arte*, Sept.—Oct. 1901, fasc. ix., x.)



Photo: Brukman.

LUCRETIA.

KESTNER MUSEUM, HANOVER.

But the fact that so eminent a critic entertained a doubt regarding this work, shows the difficulties which beset the student's path in attaining a satisfactory and convincing conclusion. The painting unquestionably displays very strongly a Sodom-esque feeling, alike in composition and execution. It is consequently not easy to divest our minds of the idea that Bazzi exercised more than a merely directing influence over the work. The figure of the Saint himself, the landscape and the children are so reminiscent of his methods, that one may fairly hazard the theory that the painting was commenced by him, even if completed by Anselmi; by whom there are at least two more altarpieces in this same church: a fine figure of *S. Paul*, and a *Baptism of Christ*.¹

Much discussion has moreover arisen over the discovery by the late Marchese G. Campori² of two documents of even date (Nov. 22nd, 1518), wherein one "*Joanne Antonio de Baziis de Parma, Pictore, ad præsens habitatore Regii*," figures as a witness.³ Now if, as we have en-

¹ In speaking of Anselmi it is also most noticeable how, in all his early works in the Emilia, the influence of his first master strives to exist side by side with the very different methods of Correggio, whose personality eventually so entirely overwhelmed him. The fine *Madonna and Saints* in the Communal Chapel of the Duomo at Parma, and the *Christ bearing His Cross* in the Church of S. Giovanni Evangelista in the same city, are characteristic examples of this mingling of ideals.

² G. Campori, *Catalogo Storico degli Artisti Italiani e Stranieri negli Stati Estensi*. Modena, 1855, p. 58. Cf. also Carlo Milanese, *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Nuova Serie, vol. ii. part i. p. 159. Firenze: Vieusseux, 1855.

³ The attestation clause runs as follows:—*Actum Regii in Ecclesia S. Jacobi prædicti, presentibus ibidem Magistro JOANNE ANTONIO DE BAZIIS DE PARMA, PICTORE, ad præsens habitatore Regii & Bonfrancisco*

deavoured to show, Bazzi was still living in Siena on the last day of December 1518, it is *not* possible that he and the *Giovannantonio de Baziis* can be one and the same person. Again, in spite of the tricks he so often plays with his name and place of residence, it seems difficult to believe that such a freedom as a false attestation of domicile would have been permitted in a document of this nature, either by the authorities, or by the parties to the deeds: apparently persons of some repute in their district. We are not aware of any motive that should prompt him to conceal his identity; and it is scarcely conceivable that, had any deception been attempted, countenance would have been given to so puerile a falsehood. *De Bazis, de Baziis, or Bazzi*¹ are, after all, not such very uncommon names, and a far more logical and likely hypothesis would suggest the existence of two painters—both Giovanni Antonio by name—rather than to force them, in defiance of perplexing dates, into one entity.

Although Marchese Campori's discoveries do not point conclusively to Bazzi's residence in Parma, it is more than reasonable to suppose that

quondam. . . . de Pachionibus, Cive Regii, Testibus, etc. Copied from the *Compendio delle Discendenze de' Fratelli Giovanni, Bonifazio e Parigio de' Taccoli, ecc.* Vedrotti, Reggio, 1741, p. 77.

¹ Campori himself, quoting Pezzana (*Storia di Parma*, tom. iii., Appendix, p. 5) in note 3, on the page above mentioned, records a certain *Christoferus de Baziis* (*Baxijs* in the Text, *Bazi* in the Index), who was among the Parmesan citizens who swore fealty to Francesco Sforza on March 7th, 1449; thus showing that the name was not unknown there. Malaspina (*Nuova Guida di Parma*, 1869), in his *Indice Alfabetico di tutti gli artisti Parmensi*, speaks of a painter named *Giovanni Bazi*, who lived from 1494 to 1533. The family of Bazzi's own pupil, Lorenzo *Brazzi* (il Rustico) were of those parts. See p. 241 *post.* Cf. also Meyer, *Op. cit.*

during those years our artist did travel in Northern Italy, and sojourned there once more. Whether he revisited his early home or relatives we are at a loss to say, and such vague indications as may be obtained, tend rather to a negative conclusion; but a number of works by him, still extant,—most of which have been discovered in churches and palaces in Lombardy and Piedmont,—would seem to point to a renewal of early impressions, matured and broadened. It is hardly necessary to repeat that paintings on panel and canvas may be moved about; but it seems unlikely on the face of it that all the pictures assigned with good reason to this period could have been carried in a finished state from Tuscany to the North. They possess, moreover, a marked style of their own, differing entirely both from the earlier and later Sienese work; and are more reminiscent of his great leader, Leonardo, into the society of whose pupils and followers he would have been once more thrown.

Morelli and his school would assign to him, and place within this period of artistic activity, the great fresco of the *Madonna and Child (Madonna)* in the Villa Melzi at Vaprio d'Adda. So far, however, we cannot follow them. The fresco is a very fine work; but although it can hardly be attributed to Leonardo himself,¹ the composition lacks the sweetness and tender grace of Bazzi. We are tempted rather to assign the painting to that talented, but as yet not fully understood, *dilettante*,

¹ Cf. Edward McCurdy, *Leonardo da Vinci*. (Great Masters Series.) George Bell & Sons, London, 1904.

Francesco Melzi, who is much more likely to have thus closely copied his friend's style for the adornment of his family villa. To bring Bazzi thither appears not unlike forcing probabilities.

The most noticeable work of this period, however, is the exquisite *Madonna and Child* (?) belonging to the Ginoulhiac family. A strangely beautiful production, it stands so much apart among the paintings of the master, that doubts have been cast upon its authenticity. But if we endeavour to comprehend the obvious circumstance, that the Mother and Child are *likenesses*, and are intended to be viewed as such, we are able to perceive the subtle and lifelike charm that pervades the composition. The picture, moreover, bears a strong resemblance¹ to the famous Frankfurt portrait to which we have alluded earlier in these pages ; and abundantly proves our artist's claim to rank as a most able painter of portraits.

¹ The following pictures bear also a close affinity to this work :—A *Madonna and Child* (No. 60) in the Morelli Gallery at Bergamo, and another representation of the same subject in the Palazzo Bianco at Genoa. The long slim hand and the sleeve with the frill at the wrist are favourite characteristics of Bazzi in these and several other paintings of this period.



Photo: Marcozzi.

MADONNA AND CHILD.

GINOULHIAC COLLECTION, MILAN.

CHAPTER VIII

FAME AND FORTUNE

THE year 1525 witnessed Bazzi's return to Siena once more.

And now commences that extensive series of paintings for the several churches and public buildings, through which he is best known to fame. Scant information is available concerning his private life ; but such indications as have come down to us point to his having occupied—in spite of differences with his employers over work done or left undone—a position in the city of his adoption, of considerable honour and respect.

A wave of unrest had swept over Siena ; and our artist returned thither at the moment when the NOVE and the LIBERTINI¹ were at the height of their intestine struggles. Civic discord did not, however, act as a check to artistic commissions.

Milanesi² states that the painted bier mentioned by Vasari for the Compagnia della SS. Trinità was commenced in this year ; but from certain memoranda among his MS.³ it would seem that

¹ Langton Douglas, *Op. cit.*, p. 216 *e seg.*

² Vasari, *Op. cit.*, p. 393, note 3.

³ Milanesi MSS., Biblioteca Comunale, Siena, P. III. 49, p. 170^t. "*Nella sagrestia di S. Donato è il cataletto che già fu della Confraternità della SS. Trinità*" (Beccafumi). p. 197. "*Il cataletto della SS. Trinità era finito di dipingere nel Maggio del 1528.*" (ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI SIENA. *Archivio del Patrimonio Ecclesiastico. Compagnia della SS. Trinità.* Reg. T. No. 15, a. c. 73.)

the work was not finished until May 1528; and was then, in fact, completed by Beccafumi. The four panels are now preserved in the sacristy of the church of S. Michele (formerly S. Donato: the *Abbadia Nuova*); and the authorship of the several portions is clearly evident. The *Madonna delle Mercede*¹ and the *Pietà* are, it is true, not fine specimens of Bazzi's craft, but there can be no doubt that they are his handiwork; whereas the two panels representing the *Trinity* (one of which is however better drawn than the other) are inferior, and may be profitably compared with another example of the same subject by Beccafumi, in the Siena Academy (Room IX. No. 384).

It was on May 3rd of this year that Bazzi covenanted to paint what is perhaps, all things considered, his masterpiece,—the *Banner* destined for the Compagnia di S. Sebastiano in Camollia. References to various sums of money paid *on account* for this work are frequent in the Books of the Confraternity;² but the entries are extremely

¹ A drawing for this subject is to be found in the Imperial Collection in Vienna. Bazzi, like Raphael before him, seems to have employed male models, perhaps his own *garzone*, for female figures.

² ARCHIVIO detto. *Libro d' Entrata e Uscita della Compagnia di S. Sebastiano*. Reg. C. I. a. c. 38^a.

ARCHIVIO detto. *Archivio del Patrimonio dei Resti. S. Sebastiano in Camollia*, No. 1626, f. 65. "A di 20 di mago 1525 raunatti e fratelli ne la compagnia i' numero di 32 col priore, si levò u' de fratelli coe prima el priore e dise, al nome di Dio e di San Bastiano di Sa Gusmondo e Rocho e dise che uno de' nostri fratelli arebe disidero si facesi u' ghonfalone per adare a procisione e darebe tre ducatti e de' licenza a ognuno cosegliasi, si levo Quirico deto el Picino e dise, al nome di Dio e di sa' Bastiano e Rocho e Gismondo deti era Antognio barbiere quello vol dare e tre ducatti e no' pottendo stasera qua venire ed a sua parte eferischo e deti 3 ducati, ando a partito se si doveva fare e' deto ghonfalone, furo tutto bianchi, furo chiamati nuove operai avesero a fare el deto ghonfalone e

confusing, and apparently overlap in more than one instance. The painter was evidently in no hurry, since the final payments were not made until November 6th, 1531; and even then, we are told by Romagnoli,¹ the banner was at last completed by Beccafumi. What share Beccafumi actually had in this collaboration we know not; at all events it was an inconsiderable one. The figure of the patron Saint (one of the best known and most beautiful creations of Renaissance Art), the landscape background, and some portions at least of the reverse side, are most characteristic of our painter's genius. A well-known writer² has described the work admirably as follows:—

Gifted with an exquisite feeling for the beauty of the human body, Sodoma excelled himself when he was

deti nove ne remanghi tre n' avesse per più lupini Antognio di . . . barbiere e Quiricho deto Picino bechaio e Bernardino di Piero Marcini che facesino deto ghonfalone e pesi bene e se ne sera buo' coto reso per ordine si perda una polissa dove erano scritte per ordine fu tolta."

¹ Romagnoli, *Op. cit.* "Prima di farne una più dettagliata descrizione voglio far noto al mio lettore, che per un documento *da me ritrovato* nell' Archivio del Patrimonio de' resti apprendo, che questo stendardo fù incominciato dal Razzi (*sic*), e terminato dal Beccafumi. Nel citato archivio ove stanno i libri attinenti ai locali aboliti dal G. D. Pietro Leopoldo, lessi tralle deliberazioni della compagnia di S. Sebastiano in Camollia, che questo Gonfalone nel 1525: non essendo intieramente terminato dal Razzi, furono proposti varij artisti per finirlo giachè l' autore non volle più porvi la mano. Lessi in una cartapecora" [a search for this document has proved fruitless] "la deliberazione nella quale si eleggono tre deputati in Girolamo di Tomasso, Lorenzo di Francesco Corti, e Pierantonio detto lo Sbada, affinché facciano terminare quest' opera al Beccafumi come fecero."

The following note from Milanesi's MSS. before mentioned seems to refer to the same thing, but no corroborative evidence is to be found elsewhere (p. 169^t): *Nel 1525 "termino il Beccafumi lo stendardo di S. Bastiano lasciato imperfetto dal Beccafumi" (sic).*

² John Addington Symonds, *The Renaissance in Italy: The Fine Arts*. London, 1877. pp. 500-501.

contented with a single figure. His *S. Sebastian*, notwithstanding its wan and faded colouring, is still the very best that has been painted. Suffering, refined and spiritual, without contortion or spasm, could not be presented with more pathos in a form of more surpassing loveliness. This is a truly demonic picture in the fascination it exercises and the memory it leaves upon the mind. Part of its unanalysable charm may be due to the bold thought of combining the beauty of a Greek Hylas with the Christian sentiment of martyrdom. Only the Renaissance could have produced a hybrid so successful, because so deeply felt.

To us the "wan and faded colouring" is one of the great charms of the composition; but the awkwardly posed angel bearing the Martyr's crown is a distinct blot.¹ On the reverse of the standard the *Madonna and Child* are poised in the air above a kneeling group: SS. Roch and Sigismund, together with several members of the Confraternity of *Flagellants*. The worshippers below are well grouped, though another hand has touched the clouds upon which the Madonna is seated; whilst her effigy² and that of her Divine Son are inferior to the rest of the work. This may in fact be the portion *completed* by Beccafumi, the recluse; whose artistic temperament and training would have paralysed any endeavour or desire to rival the achievement of his great competitor. We read that

¹ Berenson (*Drawings of the Florentine Painters cit.*, p. 163) states that Bazzi, in creating his *S. Sebastian*, must have known a drawing for this same subject by Leonardo, now belonging to M. Leon Bonnat, of Paris; since both present the same action and expression.

² It is curious that Mr. Langton Douglas (*Op. cit.*, pp. 403-4) should perceive a resemblance between the features of this Madonna and those of one of Bazzi's most beautiful presentments of the Holy Mother: viz. that over the altar of the chapel in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena.



Photo: Anderson.

S. SEBASTIAN.

UFFIZI, FLORENCE.

the sum agreed upon to be paid to the artist for this work was 20 ducats, of 7 lire to the ducat; but that this sum not being found sufficient, another 10 ducats were added. We are, moreover, told by Vasari himself, that a number of merchants from Lucca there and then offered 300 gold scudi for the banner; despite which the Confraternity refused to part with their highly prized possession. The standard was, however, eventually purchased from them in 1786¹ for 200 zecchini by the Grand Duke of Tuscany for his collection at the Uffizi, where it is exhibited to this day (Smaller Tuscan Room, on an easel).

The following year was marked by the inception of a scarcely less celebrated undertaking—this time in fresco—*i.e.*, the decoration of the Chapel of S. Catherine in the Church of S. Domenico at Siena. In spite of the admiration bestowed upon this work from the earliest times onwards, little or no record remains concerning its origin.

The history of the Chapel is an interesting one, and a few words concerning it may not be out of place here.

In the vault below lie the bodies of the two celebrated physicians,² Marco, son of Giovanni

¹ Della Valle (*Op. cit.*, p. 266) tells us that the Sieneſe and Florentines were unable to come to terms as to the price of this picture, and therefore ſubmitted it for arbitration to the Academy of Bologna.

² Faluſchi MSS. Bib. Com. Siena, Cod. E.V. 16, *Chieſe Senesi*, A-F, pp. 148^c and 154^t. Cf. alſo R. H. Hobart Cuſt, *The Pavement Maſters of Siena*, G. Bell & Son, London, 1901, p. 147; and “*Some Overlooked Maſterpieces*.” *Burlington Magazine*, vol. iv. p. 256. It ſhould be noted that in previous writings concerning this chapel an unfortunate confuſion has ariſen between uncle and nephew. Sozzini Benzi, another phyſician, belonging to this family, is alſo buried here.

Benzi and Nicola di Serfucci, who died January 23rd, 1429; and his uncle Ugo, son of Andrea Benzi and Minoccia Pagni, who, after lecturing for a time in Paris, served Niccolò, Marchese d'Este, as his physician, and died in Ferrara in 1439. His body was brought to Siena and interred here in 1448, and the following inscription—*“Deo immortalī max. Ugoni Bencio Senensi Philosophorum hominum ac medicorum sue etatis facile Principi parenti opt. Ob. eccellente doctrina de universo hominum genere B.M. filii pot. XL Kal. decembris anno domini 1448”*—marks his last resting-place. In 1488 Niccolò Buonsignori Benzi erected the present building; and the altar-shrine, containing the skull of S. Catherine, is generally supposed to be the work of Giovanni di Stefano di Giovanni.¹ The following inscription, *BEZI SCA. TVI NICOLAI SVSCIPE. CVRAM OKTERINA.* records its erection.

About 1525-26 Bazzi entered into a contract with the Dominican friars of this convent for a scheme of decoration to embrace the entire chapel. Despite Vasari's strictures with regard to the artist's culpable neglect to prepare preliminary sketches, it is abundantly evident that he approached this theme with a comprehensive idea, and no little thought as to the general effect. The virtually complete condition of the decorative

¹ W. Heywood & L. Olcott, *Guide to Siena*: Siena, Torrini, 1903, p. 311. It was once attributed to *Lorenzo di Pietro* (il Vecchietta). Gio. di Stefano was son of the celebrated artist *Sassetta*. He was also commissioned to design a silver head to contain the saint's skull afterwards executed by Francesco di Antonio. Cf. Cust, *Pavement Masters cit.*, p. 123.

portion goes a long way towards proving this. Four arches pierced with openings,—amid which flights of *putti*, carrying garlands, disport themselves,—frame the chapel walls. These are unmistakably the work of Bazzi himself, and exhibit undoubted unity of conception. The pilasters at the corners are decorated with his favourite "*Rabeschi*," likewise painted with much care and skill. The inside of the arch over the entrance from the church displays figures of a Prophet and an Evangelist, symbolizing the Old and New Dispensations. These are attended by some of the most charming examples of *putti* known to Italian Art.¹

Besides the frescoes still extant, there was also a vaulted ceiling,² upon which was painted the figure of *God the Father*. This, however, fell in during the earthquake of 1798, and is now replaced by a glass cupola.

Having reached this stage, our artist set himself to prepare designs for the adornment of the wall-spaces on either side of the Shrine. This task would seem to have exercised his mind a great deal more than is generally supposed. Two designs at least for the entire scheme exist (Uffizi, Case 343, No. 564, and Case 346, No. 1943^F), and there are several other sketches extant, probably

¹ The two *putti* above the Evangelist may be well compared with the celebrated infants at the foot of the *Madonna di S. Sisto* of Raphael. Romagnoli, *Op. cit.*, states that all these figures were retouched in 1806 by Francesco Mazzuoli of Siena.

² Vasari (*Op. cit.*, p. 394) is forced (his prejudices notwithstanding) into grudging praise of these works; even quoting Baldassare Peruzzi's encomium on them, and he calls the vault an *arco*.

conceived in connection with groups and single figures. Of these latter, the finest is a large pencil sketch preserved among the unexhibited drawings in the Uffizi (Santarelli Coll., Sheet 4, No. 268); which,—though reversed as regards the present composition, and notwithstanding certain discrepancies in minor detail,—doubtless represents an idea for the whole.¹ It is probable also that many of the *Veiled Heads* to be found in various collections of drawings throughout Europe, are sketches for this important work. The shape of the two panels admittedly produces a disturbing effect. The *Ecstasy of S. Catherine*, in spite of certain beauties of detail, is unsatisfying. The presentment of *God the Father*, though recalling in attitude certain works of Michelangelo, is distinctly infelicitous. Two conspicuous faults mar the other and more celebrated work: the *Stigmata*, better—though perhaps not quite appropriately—known as *lo Svenimento*: namely, the awkwardly poised figure of the Saviour overhead, and the unsightly pilaster, which divides the composition,—narrow enough already,—into two halves. Nothing can, however, excel the beauty of the group below. The swooning Saint, supported by her two companions, Alessia and Francesca,² sinks down in complete

¹ Another sketch for this composition,—a pen-and-ink drawing,—is also preserved in the same portfolio (No. 1942); but it looks like a late copy. It bears, however, the date on the pilaster behind the principal group; no longer to be read on the original work. Vasari speaks enthusiastically of a drawing for this subject in his own possession; thus in a measure contradicting himself as to the artist's methods of work.

² A useful comparison may be made between this more matured group and that nearly as lovely: the *Swooning Virgin*, in the *Deposition from the Cross*; painted nearly twenty years earlier.



Photo: Alinari.

THE SWOON OF S. CATHERINE. (*LO SVENIMENTO.*)

CHURCH OF S. DOMENICO, SIENA.



Uffizi, 1478.

STUDY FOR "THE SHUON OF S. CATHERINE."

U.F.F. 141 (SANTARELLI COLLECTION), FLORENCE.

powerlessness before the Divine influences wafted over her; and in this very expression of spiritual self-abandonment the artist has caught with consummate skill that indefinable spirit which, dominating the earthly element, was the secret of the power which SS. Catherine, Francis and Bernardino wielded over the souls of their contemporaries. It was the Spirit of God, filling the whole being of the Dyer's daughter, which made her the heroine and saint she became; and it is this wonderful expression of the Divine Essence—to say nothing of the technical excellencies of the picture—that arrests and holds our attention so completely. The beauty of the Saint's countenance and mien is most impressive; whilst masterly draughtsmanship produces upon us, in that somewhat ill-lighted chapel corner, the effect of a fine piece of statuary. This is, however, not all; or the very deficiencies of the composition would affect us more than they actually do. We are conscious of, and are desirous of condemning them, but something akin to awe ties our tongues, and we forbear.¹

¹ The student will no doubt recall the lines of Mr. Algernon Charles Swinburne (*Songs before Sunrise*: "Siena." London: Chatto & Windus, 1874, p. 196.)

"There on the dim side-chapel wall
Thy mighty touch memorial
Razzi (*sic*), raised up, for ages dead—
And fixed for us her heavenly head—"

The same poet, it may be observed, is most enthusiastic also (p. 198 and note) over our artist's *Christ at the Column*. We greatly regret to find so able a writer as Mr. Maurice Hewlett, for whose enchanting Mediæval *Novelle* we are fain to express unqualified admiration, committing himself to such phrases with regard to this fresco as (*Earthwork out of Tuscany*: Dent, London, 1895, p. 167) "Sodoma who betrayed her" (St. Catherine), and "Sodoma who painted her

Here, too, we see remains of Ancient Rome (the Temple of the Sibyl at Tivoli) introduced into the landscape; a decorative subject which appears to have been one of Bazzi's favourite devices.

The huge fresco on the left wall, *The Execution of Niccolò Tuldo*, shows our artist, we confess, almost at his worst. Despite the splendid young soldier in the centre,—recalling the *Alexander* of the Farnesina,—and certain exquisite single heads, such confusion of ideas and careless crowding of the composition prevails, as might well provoke the unimaginative Aretine to fury.¹ Anything more revolting, or unlike nature, than Tuldo's headless corpse, it is hard to imagine. Yet a glamour of

like a Danæ with love-glazed eyes fainting before the apparition of the Crucified Seraph." But we apprehend, from such remarks by the same writer as "the emptiest pupil that Leonardo ever tried to fill" (*Quarterly Review*, July 1903), and other similar reflections in a more recent work (*The Road in Tuscany*: London, Macmillan, 1904, pp. 254-5) upon our artist's Mont' Oliveto Cycle, that he has not troubled to ascertain the real facts concerning Bazzi's life and artistic origin, and has failed to grasp the true secret of the painter's unquestionable talent and charm. To admire or not to admire the work of Bazzi is a matter of individual opinion; but it is impossible to deny his genius; and "boys, baggages and spiritual exotics" is scarcely fair or just criticism. Even Mr. Berenson, who is not given to exaggerated praise in this quarter, speaks of him thus (*The Drawings of the Florentine Painters cit.*, vol. i. p. 34): "Sodoma his (Leonardo's) most gifted follower." To further suggest that some of his work is bad (*sic*) enough for Pinturicchio is still more beside the mark as an artistic appreciation.

¹ Vasari, *Op. cit.*, pp. 394-5: "Nella quale storia, dico, è un molto gran numero di figure, le quali niuno dee maravigliarsi se non sono d' intera perfezione; imperochè ho inteso per cosa certa, che Giovan Antonio si era ridotto a tale, per infingardaggine e pigrizia, che non faceva nè disegni nè cartoni, quando aveva alcuna cosa simile a lavorare, ma si riduceva in sull' opera a disegnare col pennello sopra la calcina (che era cosa strana); nel qual modo si vede essere stata da lui fatta questa storia." It is worth observing that Vasari seems to have got this bit of information from some one who had actually seen Bazzi at work.



Photo: Lombardi.

HEAD OF A YOUNG CENTURION.
DETAIL FROM "THE EXECUTION OF NICCOLÒ TULDO."

S. DOMENICO, SIENA.

beauty is cast over the whole—staying our condemnation—by the angels hovering above, who are bearing the soul of the repentant sinner to Heaven. These three lovely beings recall to our minds the celestial personages who witness the *Disputa* in the Camera della Segnatura, showing how well our artist remembered suggestions and ideas accumulated long before. With the flying demon at the back we are transported in memory to Monte Oliveto.

Why Bazzi did not complete the entire decoration of the chapel we shall never satisfactorily ascertain:¹ probably owing to some dispute with his patrons; but that he had selected the companion subject is abundantly proved by still existing drawings preserved in the Uffizi (Case 343, Nos. 562, 565, 1507, 1508). These designs, four in number, were known always to be sketches for some work in this chapel; and critics generally surmised their connection with the *Svenimento* itself. A fortunate chance revealed to us their true intent; examination proving them to be designs for one of S. Catherine's Acts—i.e. *the Miracle of the Exorcism of the Demoniac Girl*.²

Whether this subject was chosen by the artist himself or by his employers, matters not. The idea was adhered to long after Bazzi's departure; and it would seem as though his drawings had been preserved for use as collective information; to be consulted and studied by Francesco Vanni, who

¹ Vasari, *Op. cit.*, p. 395: "parte per suo difetto, che non voleva lavorare se non a capricci, e parte per non essere stato pagato da chi faceva fare quella cappella."

² Cust, *The Burlington Magazine cit.*, p. 250.

seventy years later¹ painted the impressive work in oils that now adorns the wall of the chapel.

To this same period may be allotted a picture, described by Vasari—long supposed to have disappeared,—but to which Frizzoni has drawn attention.² It hangs over the altar in the Chapel of the Rosary; and the composition appears to have been intended as a sort of framework for an ancient painting of the *Madonna*.³ *God the Father* above extends His hands in blessing over the four Saints, Dominick, Sigismund, Sebastian, and Catherine. Below is a view of Siena (not S. Gimignano), and beneath the whole runs a series of fifteen small Scenes from the

¹ The date of the commission was November 25th, 1593, and the payment for the work 130 scudi of 7 lire to the scudo. The document commissioning it is from the *Taccuino del Cataneo*, Bib. Com. Siena, and may be found in Gaye, *Carteggio Inedito d'Artisti dei Secoli XIV., XV., XVI.* (Firenze, 1840), vol. iii., p. 508; and also more completely with the receipt attached, in *Mil. Doc.*, vol. iii., p. 267, where the original is said to have been in the possession of Giuseppe Porri.

² Frizzoni, *Op. cit.*, p. 163 note. With all due respect we feel bound to point out the somewhat curious mistake made by a recent writer on Bazzi (Priuli Bon, *Op. cit.*, p. 67), where the following description of the picture is given: "In the Chapel of the Rosary, next to the High Altar, is a much blackened altar-piece, the study for which we have already mentioned, as being among the drawings in the Uffizi. The dead Christ lies on the knees of the Father, who holds a globe in His left hand. On either side stand two saints, SS. Dominic and Sigismund to the left, S. Catherine of Siena and a fine nude figure of S. Sebastian to the right. The town of San Gimignano is faintly visible below." And on page 64: "The other drawing is evidently a study for the picture of the *Trinity*, which he painted for the Rosary Chapel of San Domenico, a pencil drawing washed with sepia and Chinese white. In it the Eternal Father bears the dead Christ upon His knee, the Dove hovers above them, and S. Catherine of Siena and several other saints are grouped around." We need only refer readers to the text to show how entirely misleading these two passages are. The picture *as described* by Contessa Priuli Bon does *not* exist; and the fine drawing has no connection whatever with the painting recorded by Vasari.

³ The author of *Siena e il suo Territorio*, p. 267, speaks of this ancient work as a "*tabernacolo*" by Berna,

S. GIOV. BATTISTA DELLA MORTE 183

Life of Our Lord, set in three rows and forming a sort of predella. The large picture, though blackened, injured, and hung in a bad light, is undoubtedly by Bazzi; but the predella paintings are, we should say, the work of imitators.

A much injured and repainted processional banner, on silk, belonging to the same church, is also by our artist. The Virgin, with hands folded in prayer and supported by a flight of *putti* scattering roses, is borne to heaven; whilst below, behind her vacant tomb, may be seen the city of Siena.

Bazzi's talents at this period of his career seem to have been much in request for the decoration of the biers belonging to the various City Confraternities,¹ and the elaborate accounts of the Compagnia di S. Giovanni Battista della Morte for 1526-7,² show the interest taken by the various Guild Members in the work; and also their somewhat primitive business methods. The payments seem to have been made in kind, materials, etc., besides cash advances; for the Confraternity appears to have provided the panels, woodwork, and nails for the commission. We also read of a *quinterno di fogli reali* (a quire of royal folio sheets of paper), three pigs, and a *staio* (bushel) of salt. The total sum paid amounted to 98 lire, and the critical Vasari is even moved to praise these somewhat insufficient works; as much, it would seem, for their

¹ In the Siena Academy there are four panels (Room VIII., Nos. 326, 327, 360, 361), for a bier for the Compagnia di Fontegiusta, which, if not by the master himself, clearly came from his *bottega*.

² ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI SIENA. *Archivio del Patrimonio dei Resti Ecclesiastici. Compagnia di S. Giovanni Battista della Morte.* Reg. E, III., 816 f, 84, t. and Reg. C. I. See APPENDIX, No. 17.

intrinsic worth as for the "diligence and money rarely expended on such things."¹ They may still be seen, hung high up in the chapel of SS. Giovannino and Gennaro: a small building in an unfrequented street to the right of the Siena Baptistery, too unpretending in appearance to attract general notice.

Before proceeding to the next stage of our painter's career, we must draw attention to another series of frescoes by himself, his pupils, and his assistants, to which no definite date can be assigned; works not mentioned by Vasari, but which in all probability owe their inception to this period of his life. These originally adorned the vast church, built half-underground, once belonging to the *Compagnia di S. Croce*. The best of them were removed in 1842 from this edifice,—now used as a Public Gymnasium,—through the instrumentality of Conti Silvio Griccioli and Marcantonio Bandinelli to places of greater security. Three subjects only from the series call for special notice. They are the *Way of the Cross*, the *Agony in the Garden*, and the *Descent into Limbo*; the two last of which are worthy of a place among Bazzi's most successful compositions. Upon the dismantling of the church, the first named, together with other less important fragments,² was removed to the chapel of the suppressed Monastery of S. Eugenio, outside Porta S. Marco: at that time already the Villa Griccioli.

¹ Vasari, *Op. cit.*, p. 393: "*perchè, oltre all' essere veramente molto da lodare, rade volte si fanno fare simili cose conspesa o molta diligenza.*"

² One of these inferior fragments,—a *Finding of the Cross*,—has an incidental interest, inasmuch as the Empress Helena and her attendants are said to be portraits of the female members of the family of Pandolfo Petrucci,



Photo: Atinari.

HEAD OF A SLEEPING APOSTLE.
DETAIL FROM "THE AGONY IN THE GARDEN."
SIENA ACADEMY.

This "*Way of the Cross*," although obviously by the master's own hand, is but an indifferent piece of work, and, apart even from the mischief of the *restorer's* craft, does not redound much to his credit.

The other two, on the contrary, are remarkable for exceptional beauty.¹ The composition of the *Agony in the Garden* may be faulty as a whole; but the fine heads of the three sleeping Apostles, especially *S. John*, compel even unwilling admiration, and would redeem any work from the stigma of commonplace. The *Descent into Limbo* is justly celebrated; containing as it does one of the most exquisite nude figures ever produced by Art. The grace of *Eve*—her modesty, instinct with the knowledge of her power—is absolutely unsurpassed and unsurpassable. She stands before us, the epitome of all that Art in its loftiest sense has ever expressed in female loveliness; and a painter who could so conceive and devise our First Mother, would deserve, for this work alone, to fill one of the highest places in the Temple of Fame. It is not *mere beauty*; it is far more. It is the absolute embodiment of all that man ever dreamt or thought of *Woman*, in her noblest and truest essence. Bending towards *Adam*, her glance rests wistfully upon the *Saviour of Mankind*, who, with gracious gesture, raises her son *Abel* from the tomb. The informing sentiment of the work is sublime in its very simplicity; and the creator of two such perfect works, as the *Marriage of Alexander* and the

.. ¹ It is to be noted that all these three frescoes, and that of the *Descent from the Cross* by Pacchia,—which, by the way, is evidently from a Bazzi design,—are painted inside niches,

Descent into Limbo, must, in spite of all his many weaknesses, take a foremost rank amid artists in all ages.

General opinion fixes the date of this *Passion Series* in the year 1525. In our judgment they strongly recall, both in style and idea, the fragment of the *Last Supper* in the Olivetan Convent at Florence, and might perhaps be more or less contemporary with that work.

On August 31st of this year (1527) we find the Opera del Duomo setting our artist to work once more: this time upon a design for the famous Pavement.¹ We cannot trace any further record of this work; neither are we able to identify the same with any degree of certainty. A figure of *Eve*, however, among the series on the south side of the high altar, bears distinct testimony to Bazzi's influence, and may well have been executed later, after one of his cartoons.²

Again in this same year we see him in company with another artist, one Giovanni di Lorenzo,³ seconding a demand made by Beccafumi⁴ to the

¹ ARCHIVIO DELL' OPERA DEL DUOMO. *Libro di tre Angeli* dal 1521 al 1529 a.c. 465. 1527. 31 Agosto, Christo MDXXVII. "Misser Giovant. detto el Sodoma dipetore de dare a dì xxxj d' agosto lire quatordecim di denari ebe per prezo del disegno aveva fatto per la storia di domo e perciò de Tomasso di Gabriello nostro camerlengo sono a sua uscita a f. 38 . . . Lire xiiij."

² Cust, *Pavement Masters cit.*, p. 90.

³ Of this painter nothing but the name is known; but a certain Lorenzo di Giovanni, likewise a painter,—and also otherwise unknown,—is recorded in a document dated October 23rd, 1525 (ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI SIENA: *Arch. del Patrimonio Ecclesiastico, Compagnia di S. Antonio Abate. Bilancio del 1524. Reg. C. I., a. c. 91^a. Mil. Doc.*, vol. iii. p. 83), as one of the workmen employed by the Confraternità di S. Antonio Abate.

⁴ ARCH. NOT. PROV. SIENA. 1527. 4 di Settembre? *Rogiti di*



Photo: Alinari.

ADAM AND EVE.
DETAIL FROM "THE DESCENT INTO LIMBO."
SIENA ACADEMY.

Signoria of Siena, for payment of the balance of a sum due to him by Francesco di Camillo Petrucci, —then in exile, with all his goods escheated to the State. The original document concerning this transaction was printed in full by Milanese in 1850, but is no longer to be found.¹

Frizzoni calls attention² to two other events, noted in Milanese's Chronological List,³ and placed within this year. The unfortunate loss of the last-mentioned deed, and still more that of another very important *petition* to the authorities by our artist himself, has given rise to much speculation. We learn from this document that our hero, falling sick in Florence, lay during a certain period in the Hospital of S. Maria Nuova, in Bed 42. During his illness, his pupil, Girolamo di Francesco Magagni (*Giomo del Sodoma*), accompanied by Gianni Scricciolo, son of one Palachino of Volterra, entered his master's studio on a variety of occasions, and "by order" (*di commissione*),—as the copied document sets forth,—conveyed⁴ thence a large number of articles; many of which appear to have been con-

Ser Girolamo Ottaviani. Filza degli Atti della Mercanzia. Mil. Doc., vol. iii. No. 50. p. 101. Of this picture by Beccafumi for Francesco Petrucci, no trace can be found. The exact locality of the Petrucci residence is not known. Perhaps their home was the palace once belonging to the Agostini, and now the property of the Bindi-Sergardi family.

¹ The attestation clause was photographed and published in *La Scrittura di Artisti Italiani* (with notes and explanations by G. Milanese: Firenze, Carlo Pini, 1876, vol. ii. p. 144). See APPENDIX No. 19. It should be noted that Milanese gives *Settembre* as the date of this petition, whereas the *photograph* reads *Dicembre*.

² Frizzoni, *Op. cit.*, p. 165.

³ Vasari, *Op. cit.*, p. 407.

⁴ ARCH. detto. *Processi del 1529.* See APPENDIX No. 20.

⁵ "Convey the wise it call."—*Merry Wives of Windsor*, Act I, sc. iii.

cealed in a fowl-house, situated between Giomo's house and that of a neighbour. On July 20th, 1529 (if the date of the version published in Milanese's *Documenti*, vol. iii. p. 110, be correct), Bazzi appealed to the Sienese magistrates for restitution of the property (as far as may be gathered) unlawfully retained: briefly detailing the facts and adding a long list of the missing articles.

The bare circumstance that Bazzi lay sick in Florence about this time, affords but a narrow basis for the constructive criticism so freely indulged in by his detractors; and far too much stress has been laid on the mere accident of his sojourn in a *public* hospital rather than a private house. A mishap, followed by consequences to the sufferer requiring prompt medical or surgical attention, may well result in the stay, more or less prolonged, of the most respectable in a public institution; and since we have no means of ascertaining the nature or duration of his malady, the spiteful innuendoes with regard to the conduct of his family or friends on this, and on a subsequent occasion, are unfounded and unworthy of notice. Contessa Priuli Bon's¹ conclusions are still more beside the mark. If we will bear in mind that during this period the Medici name was in extreme

¹ Priuli Bon, *Op. cit.*, pp. 67-8. "The master was at Florence, whether on business or pleasure we do not know, and, falling ill, was nursed at the hospital of S. Maria Nuova. That the popular painter, a welcome guest at many palaces, and known to most of the monastic communities, should be so entirely without friends in the city of the Medici as to be sent to a public ward of the great hospital, is a matter of some surprise. But we have abundant evidence that Sodoma was not liked in Florence, and this may largely account for Vasari's biassed prejudice."

ill-odour in Florence, the family having been expelled from the city on May 17th, 1527; and if we recall the fact that Bazzi was well known to have enjoyed their special patronage, we can more easily make allowance for his friendless condition,—if deserted he was.

But should we not rather prefer a theory of our own to explain two statements by our Aretine biographer, which would seem *prima facie* to defy proved testimony? Could the Palio of S. Barnabas—that incident so graphically described by Vasari—not have brought about the S. Maria Nuova episode, with its concomitant results? In view of Vasari's admittedly fantastic chronology, the suggestion that the notorious Palio and the S. Maria Nuova illness are coincident, certainly bears the air of extreme likelihood. Bazzi's horses are known¹ to have competed,—and Vasari says as much,—in Florence and elsewhere, on more than one occasion. It does sound improbable that he should have been assaulted, suffering grievous bodily hurt, at a date (1515-17) when he enjoyed favour at court, and had virtually reached the zenith of his social fame. On the other hand, a citizen of hated Siena, and a friend of the exiled Medici to boot, would conceivably receive short shrift,—especially as a victor,—at the hands of a Florentine mob at any time between May 1527 and November 1529. Still more would such be the case had he been suspected of a desire to jeer at his public. In addition to this, could it be that the authentic fact of our artist's illness in a public

¹ Cf. p. 122 *e seg. ante*.

hospital in Florence gave rise years afterwards to the erroneous assertion that he actually died in one in Siena?

To suggest, however, as Mme Priuli Bon does, that he was *personally* unpopular in Florence in the ordinary sense of the term, is, we would submit, reading into history what is not written there.

There are no recorded facts to diametrically oppose or preclude the placing of the Palio incident and the sequel at S. Maria Nuova in 1527¹; and since the original document is no longer to be found, and the late Sig. Milanese himself is responsible for correcting, in his *Commentary* on Vasari, the date given in his *Documenti*, we are perforce left in considerable uncertainty.² That Bazzi, trusting to Medicean influence, may have entered his *fine Barb*, to run in the Palio before the sudden tumult drove his patron from the city; and that, unluckily for him, he may—in all ignorance, or even in bravado—still have come to fulfil his engagement, whilst the popular fury had not subsided, is quite possible. The injuries received on this S. Barnabas' day (June 11th), though severe enough to require treatment in hospital during a

¹ A careful examination of the records of the Hospital of S. Maria Nuova has unfortunately not brought anything to light.

² The reason of Milanese's correction might be sought for in the fact that the year 1528 was marked in Florence by a serious visitation of the plague; whilst the great siege and the political disturbances preceding it covered the following twelvemonth. A legitimate doubt would therefore arise whether any public diversions could have taken place during these years. Although we are bound to remember the celebrated *Gioco di Calcio*, played on February 14th, 1529, and immortalized by Francesco Domenico Guerazzi in cap. xxvii. of his work on the Siege of Florence. See Heywood, *Palio and Ponte cit.*, p. 174.

part of the month of July, might not have prevented his return to Siena by the 20th of that month.¹ Giomo and his companion were justified in removing certain articles from the studio "by order"; and the suit for restitution was doubtless due to their tardiness in restoring the property; for the custody of which they had selected so unusual a receptacle as "a lean-to" fowl-house with a roof made of rubble. That Bazzi had neither been absent long, nor had intended, when he left home, to be gone for any lengthy period, is evident from the circumstance that his pupil was entrusted with the keys of the workshops, etc. The list of things removed is a curious one, and possesses special interest, since it affords renewed evidence of our artist's taste for sculpture; and again points indirectly to the early influences and example of Leonardo da Vinci. Similar herein to that versatile artist and thinker, Bazzi preserved among his treasures a work on *Necromancy*, and likewise a manuscript *Treatise on Painting*, comprising advice, notes, recipes for painting materials, etc., such as all Renaissance craftsmen took pains to compile, and preserve with particular care.² On August 6th in that same year, the question at issue between master and man seems to have been settled, and Bazzi acknowledged the return of the bulk of the articles claimed.

¹ His Duomo commission bears date August 31st of that year.

² The names of two other not uninteresting personages occur in this document. One is *Madonna (Beatrice) donna di dicto chavalliere*, to whose house in Vallerozzi certain things are said to have been taken; and the other is *Niccolò spadaio suo cognato* (Bonelli), the second husband of Giomo's sister *Elisabetta*. See *post*, p. 240.

In the absence of the document, setting the point of date finally at rest, the events above described may just as well have occurred in 1527 as in 1529; but we possess no record of work done in 1528, and it is not until the year 1529 is drawing to a close, that we stand once more on the firm ground of written testimony.

On August 20th and September 2nd of this year (1529)¹ we find the Sienese authorities sentencing six butchers, whose names are set forth at length, to pay certain amounts in fines as the penalty for their ill-doing; which sums are to be set apart for the decoration of the *Sala delle Balestre* in the Palazzo Comunale.

The work of the most celebrated Early painters of the Sienese school had long decorated the walls of this great Hall—known also by the name of "*Il Mappamondo*"; but a considerable period had elapsed since the completion of the last frescoes. We can only hazard a guess at the motives which induced the Sienese authorities, after a lengthy interval, to decree the renewal and completion of their palace decoration; and no certain dates are available until April 5th, when Beccafumi was commissioned to decorate the Council Chamber (*Sala del Concistoro*), with a ceiling still to be seen there, which pleased Vasari exceedingly.³

¹ ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI SIENA. *Scritture Concistoriali, ad annum*: 30 Agosto, and 2 Settembre, 1529.

² ARCHIVIO detto. 1529, 5 Aprile. *Rogiti di Ser Sigismondo Trecherchi*, Filza 1, No. 221.

³ Vasari, *Op. cit.*, vol. v. p. 640. Milanese observes here (note 2) that this work was not completed until 1535, so that even Beccafumi did not hurry his labours.

The volumes of the Corporation Contracts and Resolutions (*Scritture* and *Deliberazioni Concistoriali*) contain a number of entries concerning Bazzi's work: notices of payments made on account, and directions of various sorts.¹ Although continual reference is made to the *San Vittorio* fresco,² two notices only record *San Ansano*. As the first of these two is of no slight importance, it is advisable to quote the entry, dated August 31st, *in extenso*,³ translated as follows :

1529. Item. A commencement has been made in the Hall of the Balestre for the painting of two beautiful figures—that is to say, one of S. Vittorio, and the other of S. Ansano, by the hand of Sodoma ; and for such work he has been given already nine scudi—that is to say, sixty-three lire. It will be well to carry the work to its end.

If, then, we should place Bazzi's illness in this year, these paintings must have been commenced

¹ It is amusing to note that on one occasion (Oct. 29th, 1529) the treasurer, the *Magnificus Lopus*, not having any ready money, pawned the silver necklace of "*il Capitaneus Cuicis*" in order to pay the artist 70 lire.

² Langton Douglas (*History of Siena cit.*, p. 404) suggests that this Saint was chosen to commemorate the battle of Camollia. The connection, however, is scarcely "*obvious*," for nearly three years had elapsed before this work was even contemplated. Nevertheless the reader may be recommended to study Mr. Douglas' graphic and stirring account of the events of this period. But his suggestions, both as regards this painting and the *Madonna di S. Calisto*, though worth consideration, are not final. See Giovanni Antonio Pecci, *Raccolta Universale di tutte l'iscrizioni arme e altri Monumenti esistenti nel 3° de S. Martino fino a questo presente anno, 1730. Libro secondo*. MS. Biblioteca Comunale, Siena. Pecci, *Op. cit.*, p. 140^b, calls the figure *S. Galgano*.

³ ARCHIVIO detto. *Scritture Concistoriali*, Filza 41. *Not. ai Successori della Signoria del detto anno*. "1529. Item se è dato principio nella Sala delle Balestre far dipingere due belle figure cioè una di Sancto Vectorio, e l'altra di Sancto Ansano per le mani del Sodoma, e per tale opera si li è dato già scudi nove, cioè lire sesanta tre. Sarà bene mandarla a fine."

at some date in the spring. That *S. Vittorino* was nearing completion in August is shown by the fact that on September 21st Beccafumi and Bartolommeo di David¹ are summoned to value the work.² The estimates both of Beccafumi and his colleague seem to have failed to satisfy the parties; and Baldassare Peruzzi was called in on September 26th to arbitrate.³ The Signoria, however, in spite of differences, did not withhold their patronage from the artist, for in that selfsame September entry we find the Corporation—acting apparently at the instance of Francesco Tolomei, then "*Operaio*" (Director of the Fabric of the Duomo)—commissioning another painting for the same room: *i.e.* a figure of the *Blessed Bernardo Tolomei*, his famous ancestor.⁴ The *S. Ansano* fresco meanwhile appears to have remained uncompleted so late as the following February.⁵ No greater diligence marked the progress of the *B. Bernardo* painting, which, were it owing to delay in the payments on account, or to wilful procrastination on the artist's part, was not finally concluded

¹ Concerning *Bartolommeo di David*, Milanesi quotes a number of entries. He appears to have been the founder of a family of painters who,—while none were artists of first-rate distinction,—yet all enjoyed a certain measure of public recognition. His daughters, Medea and Giulia, married respectively the painters *Michelangelo d' Antonio* called *lo Scalabrino* and *Antonio di Michelangelo Passalacqua*. This master was summoned on another occasion to value work by Bazzi in the Cappella di Piazza.

² ARCHIVIO detto. *Scritture Concistoriali*, 21 e 23 Settembre, 1529. Cf. also *Concistoro Deliberazioni*, vol. 978, fol. 13, 21 Settembre, 1529. *Mil. Doc.*, vol. iii. p. 112.

³ ARCHIVIO detto. *Scritture e Deliberazioni detti* fol. 15, 26 Settembre, 1529. (Three entries.) *Nuovi Documenti cit.* 1 p. 447.

⁴ Not *S. Benedict*, as Vasari (*Op. cit.*, p. 391) states.

⁵ ARCHIVIO detto. *Scritture detti*, 28 Febbraio, 1529-30.



Photo: Alinari.

S. VITTORIO.

PALAZZO PUBBLICO, SIENA.



The Art Photogravure Co. Ltd. London

Lombardi, photo.

*Head of the Madonna
Chapel, Pal. Pubblico—Siena*

until 1533.¹ These paintings, like all Bazzi's *single figures* and *simpler compositions*, are very fine. Especially is this the case with the *S. Vittorino*, whose head is one of the most virile and forcible types he ever conceived; while in the *Blessed Bernardo*, with his long white beard, we have the most spiritually impressive presentment of a venerable saintly personage. The attendant *putti*² are alive with that innocent charm and infantine playfulness that Giovan-Antonio so well knew how to create. But the weak point in these frescoes—a fault to which attention has been drawn by several writers—is that our artist, in straining after realism, has sacrificed that restraint so essential to wall decoration. He was not called upon to suggest that *S. Vittorino* is stepping down in person from his niche; or that the catechumen, whom *S. Ansano* is baptizing, is a live penitent kneeling before the Saint.

Somewhere about this period, probably,³ Bazzi executed one of the loveliest among his numerous *Holy Families*—painted for the altar of S. Calixtus in the Duomo; now set up in the Chapel of the Palazzo Pubblico, close beside the frescoes just described. Alfonso Landi in his *Racconto*, etc.,⁴

¹ Or even owing to political disturbances; for it was in 1530 that the inroads of the Spanish troops into Sienese territory commenced. Cf. Langton Douglas, *Op. cit.*, p. 219.

² Those above the *Blessed Bernardo* are represented with the Sienese wolf, and may be paralleled with those above Roxana's couch in the Farnesina, and over the altar of the chapel of the Contrada del Oca, in S. Catherine's House, Siena.

³ Meyer (*Op. cit.*) would, however, place it much earlier—in 1516-17. Here we cannot agree with that able critic. The work is too matured for so early a date, and the landscape and composition resemble closely other work of this period.

⁴ Landi, *Op. cit.*, L. IV. 13, p. 24: L. IV. 14, p. 138.

gives a full account of this beautiful work, which in his day still filled the place for which it was painted; and it should be especially noted in this connexion, since many writers—including even Frizzoni—have here gone astray, that he distinctly describes the saint, represented holding the fetters, as *S. Leonard*,¹ and *not S. Calixtus*. This picture, together with its beautifully carved frame, was removed from the Duomo to the Palazzo in 1681,² to replace a painting by Simone Memmi, that, (according to Pecci,³) formerly hung there.

Siena had by this time fallen under Spanish control, and an Imperial Vicar ruled the town in the name of the Emperor Charles V. The invaders appear to have had their national chapel⁴ in the Dominican Church of S. Spirito; and our artist was occupied therewith simultaneously with the completion of the frescoes in the Palazzo Pubblico. The S. Spirito work consists of a great tympanum painted in fresco, in which the patron saint of Spain, S. James, on horseback, slaughters the infidel Saracen. Two shields on either side display the arms of Spain and the Empire; while below these stand the figures

¹ This same Saint is to be met with elsewhere in paintings by Bazzi and his School.

² Milanesi (Vasari, *Op. cit.*, p. 393, note 2) says that, according to some authorities, this removal took place in 1704; but no reason has yet been discovered for the change.

³ Pecci, *Op. cit.*, p. 148. He does not, however, tell us what was the subject or whither it went.

⁴ An epitaph, supported by two angels, on the wall of this chapel, quoted by Pecci, (*Op. cit.*, p. 70,) runs as follows:—"D.O.M. Ferdinando Alvarez de Soto Mayor, nobili Hispano in Jura Clariss. Licentiat, eximie continentie Viro Senis Justitie Prefecto decessit An. Sal. 1556, 7 Kal. Octob. Amicorum eximia pietas posuit."

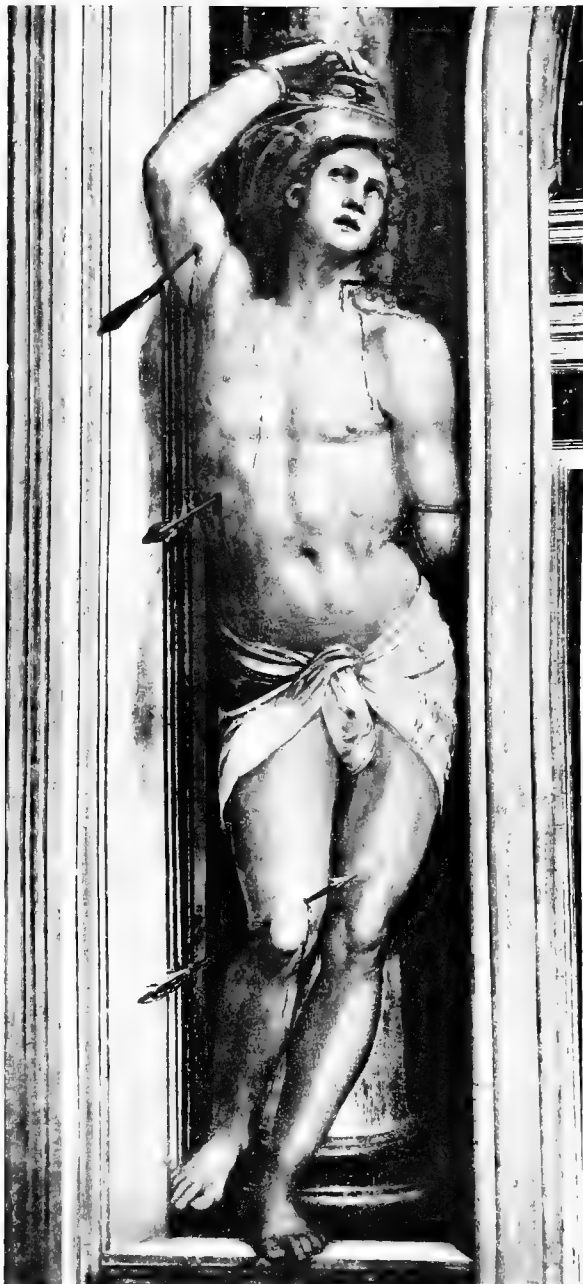


Photo : Alinari.

S. SEBASTIAN.
DETAIL.

SPANISH CHAPEL, CHURCH OF S. SPIRITO, SIENA.

of SS. Sebastian and Anthony Abbas. Framed within this larger composition, and immediately over the altar, are the following paintings on panel: S. Nicholas of Tolentino and S. Michael (on either side of an indifferent modern picture of S. Rosa); whilst above, in another lunette, the Madonna, attended by SS. Lucy and Cecilia, is investing S. Alfonso (Ildefonso) with a Bishop's robes. We gather from the records¹ that the SS. Sebastian and Anthony were painted by Jan. 20th, 1529-30, and the panel lunette by the following April 16th. No record has been traced concerning the other works; but we learn that our artist was paid four florins (*picholi*) for S. Anthony, and six for S. Sebastian; the latter having been painted apparently at the express wish of the Prior, Fra Timotheo de Ricci. A pen-and-ink sketch for this figure—which may profitably be compared with the more celebrated presentment of that saint in the Uffizi—is preserved in the Beckerath Coll. in the Royal Museum at Berlin. Likewise, a *first idea* for the S. James' tympanum is to be found in the Uffizi portfolios (No. 1937). It is but a faint outline sketch, in red chalk; but in a certain

¹ ARCHIVIO detto. *Archivio del Patrimonio de' Resti. Carte del Convento di S. Spirito*, Reg. H. vii. *Quinterno di Ricordi della Sagrestia e della Chiesa di S. Spirito cominciato nel 1517*, p. 332^v.

1529. Ricorddo chome addi xx di gennaio 1529 more ordinario el pre-decto sagrestano fece fare alla chappella degli Spagniuoli uno S^{to}. Ant^o. dipingelo el chavalieri al quale dicte R. (fior.): 4 plj. (picholi) laus deo.

Ricorddo come addi decto el padre priore fra Timotheo de Ricci fece dipignere uno Santo Sebastiano nella cappella degli Spagnuoli e dipinge lo e sopra dicto laus deo e costò R. (fior.): 6 di picoli.

Ricordo come addi xvj d'aprile 1530 simisse alla chappella degli Spagnuoli uno mexo tonddo dreantovj la vergine, S^{to}. Alfonso, Sta. Cecilia e Sta. Lucia et 2 angeli dipissegli et sopra decto cavalieri laus deo.

sense the patron saint, depicted standing, is a more restrained and imposing figure than the galloping warrior now shown in the finished work.¹ Della Valle² tells us that this boldly conceived horseman gave great satisfaction at the time; and so pleased the Emperor, when he visited Siena six years later, that he said he would be "willing to exchange all his cavalry for that one horse." This expression of admiration on the Emperor's part appears to have given birth to the tradition of a spontaneous Imperial grant of the title of *Count Palatine* to Bazzi.

In connexion with the Spanish invaders and their chapel, we should here quote the story as told by Armenini,³ without which no Life of Bazzi would be complete. Milanese⁴ abridges the anecdote as follows:—

Giovannantonio had one day been grossly insulted by a Spanish soldier belonging to the garrison of the city, and being unable to revenge himself because of the number of his companions around him, looked at him attentively, and then returning home drew his portrait from memory with lifelike features and colouring. Then

¹ The chapel was restored in 1800 by Liborio Guerrini.

² Della Valle, *Op. cit.*, p. 273: "Vogliono alcuni Sanesi, che capitato in Siena Carlo V., e condotto a vedere questa pittura, dicesse che egli volentieri avrebbe cambiata in quel cavallo tutta la sua cavallerizza. Tanto egli è ben disegnato ed è bello e fiero."

³ Armenini, *Op. cit.*, p. 27. This story adds one more proof of Bazzi's skill in portraiture. A further value is conferred upon it, inasmuch as Armenini here tells us that *he himself* was intimately acquainted with a *personal* friend of the artist, who spoke of the high honour that he enjoyed in his lifetime among the best society in Siena. Armenini's work appeared in 1578—only *thirty years* after Bazzi's decease—whilst the *Pompe Sanesi* and the notorious *Dennunzia* did not see the light until 1649: *seventy years* later.

⁴ Vasari, *Op. cit.*, p. 393, note 1. See APPENDIX No. 22.

presenting himself to the Spanish Governor,¹ he laid before him the circumstances and demanded justice. The Governor asked who the offender was, and he then produced the portrait from under his cloak, saying, as he presented it, “Sir, here is his face: I cannot tell you any more. The Governor and those around him at once recognised the soldier who had deserved punishment. Such an event pleased the painter, since it was the occasion of gaining him favour with the Governor and the other gentlemen, from whom he secured help, favour, and support. Armenini assures us that he had heard this tale related by an old Sienese who had been a very intimate friend of the celebrated artist.

In 1532 Bazzi completed the work commenced many years before for the Compagnia di S. Bernardino; designing for them an *Assumption of the Virgin*. A comparison of this beautiful fresco with the rest of the series painted in 1518² marks at once the advance the artist had made in force of composition, and—when he chose—of restraint in design. In spite of the awkward shape of the panels—a circumstance which had already seriously hampered him—he succeeded in producing a most graceful, and yet impressive, re-enactment of this passage in the Life of the Madonna. A large number of nearly lifesize figures necessarily fill the stage; but the appearance of crowding, so irritatingly prominent in his earlier work, is here

¹ Romagnoli states that the Governor at this period was Giovanni di Luna (?).

² ARCHIVIO DI STATO. *Carta della Compagnia di S. Bernardino*, 1532, 16 Giugno. It may be observed that the last payment recorded is only two ducats; so that it is to be presumed that other sums had been paid to the master previously, of which no record now exists. Cf. APPENDIX No. 15.

successfully avoided. The Mother of God, a conception of ideal loveliness, is borne aloft on light clouds swarming with joyous cherubs; whose glee, instinct with naïve grace, is wholly free from the street-arab mirth that disfigures the *putti* in the earlier *Coronation*. Beneath the Celestial Vision the awestruck Apostles are grouped with great judgment and effect, and the types chosen for each are suitable and expressive of their special individuality. This is in a sense, perhaps, one of the most pleasing and satisfactory among all Bazzi's compositions, but scarcely obtains the notice it deserves. The subdued tone of the colouring has deadened somewhat—a condition, however, that scarcely detracts from the general beauty.¹

In the autumn of 1526, the Signoria of Siena—with a more plausible motive for their act than in an instance referred to above—determined to signalize their victory over their enemies, by adorning all the gates of the city, which so far had remained undecorated, with representations of the Virgin Mary, their Heavenly Guardian and Mistress. To this end they passed a resolution on October 25th,² empowering a number of their body to carry out this votive work; and certain taxes and fines due to

¹ It is at about this period that, venturing to differ from Dr. Frizzoni, —who, by the way, has mistaken the subject (*Op. cit.*, p. 168, note),—we should date the very beautiful, but sadly injured, fresco of the *Ascension* in the Sozzini (now Pieri) chapel of the Collegiata at Trequanda. The easy grace of the Saviour ascending to heaven, and many of the leading characteristics expressed by the group below, strongly recall this *Assumption*. It therefore may reasonably be considered contemporary with the more famous work.

² ARCHIVIO detto. *Deliberazioni di Balìa*, vol. lxxi. fol. 16. 25 Ott. 1526. Cf. APPENDIX No. 23.



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Lombardi photo.

Choir of "Putti,"
Oratorio di S. Bernardino — Siena.

the Commune were set apart to defray the expenses. It is, however, not until September 12th, 1528,¹ that the first reference to the Porta S. Viene occurs; and then only in connexion with repairs to the gate in prevision of the impending decoration. A notice in 1530² records a sum of 125 florins entrusted to the hands of Giovanni Palmieri, Bernardino di Filippo Buoninsegni, and Girolamo Paccinelli, Commissioners of the Office of Works, towards defraying the cost of the paintings: seemingly an inadequate amount, since another decision, dated June 13th, 1531,³ proves that the work was then still far from completion. A resolution of April 3rd, 1532,⁴ at last records the final settlement; through the payment of 10 scudi to the painter, Giovanni Antonio Bazzi—who (says Milanesi) had commenced his work in 1530. The foregoing resolution also provides money for the construction of a pent-house to protect the painting from wind and weather: a precaution which has, alas! not availed to save the lower portion of the composition. This circumstance is the more unfortunate, since thereby another of the portraits of the painter, noted by Vasari,—as “*an elderly man with a beard*,”—is lost to us, together with a long votive inscription.⁵

¹ ARCHIVIO detto. *Deliberazioni di Balìa*, vol. lxxviii. fol. 85^b. 12 Sett., 1528.

² ARCHIVIO detto. *Concistoro Scritture*, 1530. *Notula*.

³ ARCHIVIO detto. *Deliberazioni di Balìa*, vol. lxxxiv. fol. 131. 13 Giugno, 1531.

⁴ ARCHIVIO detto. *Deliberazioni di Balìa*, vol. lxxxvii. fol. 122. 3 Aprile, 1532.

⁵ Vasari, *Op. cit.*, p. 395 and note. According to Vasari's reckoning, Bazzi would have been 52 at this date, which seems scarcely *già vecchio*. As a matter of fact he was about two years older.

The painter held a brush in his hand, together with a label, bearing—not the word *feci*, as Vasari states, but *fac tu* (“*Match this if you can*”). The inscription, however, quoted from Pecci by Milanesi, runs as follows: *Deiparae Virgini pro victoria, libertate et salute hujus urbis, populus senensis ejus nomini devotus*, A.D. MDXXXI. The composition is a large and striking representation of the *Nativity*, and the remains which time has spared are extremely beautiful. They serve only to enhance the sense of our loss. The attendant choir of angels, poised in the air with indescribable lightness and grace, bearing aloft a ribbon scroll with the words *Gloria in Excelsis Deo*, is peculiarly felicitous both in grouping and effect. In the centre of the arch, in the best preserved part of the composition, we notice under the pent-house a small *putto*; on either side of which are groups of exceedingly beautiful angels, whose faces for pure loveliness equal anything hitherto painted by our artist. The beautiful fragment of a *putto*, underneath the right-hand group, is unsurpassed even by Raphael himself; whose work it distinctly recalls. Barely a quarter of a century ago, the greater portion of the lower half of this fresco, together with the inscription and several figures, were still visible. Alas! timely protective measures,¹ which might to some extent

¹ According to Della Valle (*Op. cit.*, p. 278), the Grand Duke Cosimo III. desired to remove this fresco to a place of safety, but was deterred therefrom by the size and thickness of the wall. He also records on the same page that, among the collection of drawings belonging to Abate Ciaccheri, there was a sketch for one of the angels. This sketch has unfortunately disappeared.



Photo : Edmund Houghton.

HEAD OF AN ANGEL.

DETAIL.

PORTA PISPINI, SIENA.

To face p. 202.



Photo: Alinari.

CHOIR OF ANGELS.
DETAIL FROM THE SAME FRESCO.

have saved for us this priceless work of art, were not devised until 1899.¹

Before concluding this chapter, one more painting must be mentioned; the existence, or rather the memory of which is marked only by a patch on a wall. This fresco, in a side street off the Piazza Tolomei, near the church of S. Cristoforo, is a work that the weather, the smoke of a forge, and the recent deliberate scraping of the wall at the hands of the ruthless landlord (under pretence of restoration), have reduced to an unsightly wreck, more than half concealed under a wire netting. This ghost of the *Madonna de' Calzolari*² is described as follows: "*The Madonna with her Son in her arms, SS. John, Francis, Roch, and Crispin, patron of the men of this trade, with a shoe in*

¹ Since the asseverations made by recent writers concerning the name of this gate and its origin are so contradictory, a note on its history will not be out of place here. Called originally *Porta Sta. Eugenia*, from the little chapel dedicated to that saint not very far beyond it, it is so denominated in some of the documents quoted here. When, however, in 1107 the body of the martyred Ansano was brought to the city from Dofana, the populace of Siena, awaiting the procession at this gate, cried out "*il santo viene*" (*the saint comes*). Hence the name of *Porta del Santo Viene*, or *Porta San Viene*, which it is, as often as not, still officially styled. On June 23rd, 1534, however, the Contrada dell' Abbadia Nuova, wherein the gate is situated, asked leave from the Signoria (ARCHIVIO detto: *Balia, Deliberazioni*, vol. xci. f. 149^b, 150); to beautify the main street by the erection of a fountain, which was vulgarly called *Fonte Pispini*. This name was soon applied to the street leading from thence to the gate, and subsequently to the gate itself. Cf. also Pecci (*Op. cit.*), who differs from the usual derivation of the name *San Viene*, and adds that above the fresco was the word *Libertas*, and on either side the *Balzana* and the *Lion Rampant*. By a fortunate chance the author was able, in January 1899, to examine the work at close quarters, and was much struck by the peculiar *cross-hatching*, designed to produce the effect of shadow on the angels' faces.

² Vasari, *Op. cit.*, pp. 390-1, and note 1.

his hand." It was ordered on May 3rd, 1530,¹ and Vasari adds that "as much the heads as the whole work was very good."² "Remembrance of what has been—unreal likenesses of lovely shapes, that were and are not"—is now all that remains to us of this painting.

¹ ARCH. NOT. PROV. SIENA. Maggio 3, 1530. *Rogiti di Ser Galgano Faleri*. It is to be noted that, although this document records the decisions of the Guild with regard to the ordering of this work, there is no allusion whatsoever to the painter chosen to execute it.

² Vasari, *Op. cit.*, p. 391: "*nelle teste delle quali figure e nel resto, si portò Giovann' Antonio benissimo.*" Della Valle also praises this fresco; but Romagnoli (*Op. cit.*), in whose day much of it was still to be seen, says that it was by no means fine and beautiful. Perhaps even then it had been already injured and repainted.

CHAPTER IX

FINAL PERIOD

THE Signoria of Siena, elated, it would seem, by their victory over the armies of the Pope and the Florentine Republic at the Battle of Camollia, now proceeded to plan a number of ambitious projects in commemoration of their success: projects rendered nugatory in almost every case, through lack of means; and many of which appear to have lain idle during a decade at least. On November 25th, 1527, we find—among the "*Deliberazioni della Balìa*"¹—a resolution decreeing that the ancient Chapel at the foot of the Torre del Mangia of the Palazzo Pubblico be restored and adorned with a new fresco; and the subject chosen was the *Virgin and Child with SS. Ansano, Vittorio, Agostino and Jacopo; with God the Father above surrounded by a glory of Angels*.

Work had been carried on here at intervals extending over a century. The chronicle of Andrea Dei² relates, that the chapel was commenced—

¹ Cf. APPENDIX No. 24.

² *Cronaca di Andrea Dei continuata da Agnolo di Tura*. Muratori, *Rerum Italicorum Scripta*, vol. xv. Milanese MS., P. iii. 53, p. 346. *Cappella di Piazza*, 1348. "Et in quest' anno per certo miracolo che la Nostra Donna Vergine Maria fece, si cominciò la Cappella del Campo sotto la torre," etc. Pecci (*Op. cit.*, p. 118^t) states that it was dedicated in honour of the *Nativity* of the Madonna; was designed by Duccio, and the frieze and arch were added by Francesco di Giorgio. He tells us further that it was adorned with the three shields of the city, and that

together with a number of other churches and places of worship—in 1348, to commemorate a miracle performed by the Virgin during the Great Plague of that year. Neri di Donato,¹ however, tells us that the construction was not actually begun until June 1352; and, according to Sig. F. Donati, the building² was probably designed by Domenico d' Agostino, stone-mason and architect, who at that date was Clerk of the Works to the Opera del Duomo.³ On June 18th, 1369, the *Consiglio della Campana* directed that the Rector of the Opera should expend from the funds of that Institution 100 gold florins annually, from July 1st onwards until the building be completed. We learn also that between July 1352 and April 1376 the walls had been pulled down no less than four times.⁴

the inscription "*In honorem B. Mariæ Virginis Jo. Antonius cognomento Sodoma Eques comesque Palatinus faciebat MDXXXVIII*" was painted beneath Bazzi's fresco. We may learn from these statements how far Pecci—valuable though his researches are—may be relied upon as a final authority.

¹ *Annali Senesi o Cronica di Neri di Donato*, dal 1352 al 1381. Muratori, *Op. cit.*, vol. cit. Cappella di Piazza. "1352. La Cappella del Campo a piè la torre si cominciò e' fondamenti del mese di luglio, e li Signori Nove missero fiorini due d'oro ne' fondamenti, e quando si fondò, stèrovi accesi li doppieri, e fu titolata a Madonna S. Maria di Settembre. 1376. Le more della Cappella a piè della torre del Campo di Siena si cominciò a murare, ch'è prima erano state guaste quattro volte in 24 anni che si erano cominciate in più modi di marmo, e questo fu d'Aprile."

² F. Donati, *Il Palazzo del Comune di Siena* (ARTE ANTICA SENESE. Published by the Commissione di Storia Patria. Siena: Sordomuti, 1904).

³ ARCH. DELL' OPERA DEL DUOMO. *Pergamene*, No. 874. That the Chapel already existed in 1354 is proved by the Will of a certain *Tofo del fu Maghinardi Salimbeni*, who devised among other legacies *quod residuum convertatur in Cappella noviter facta iuxta palatium in quo moratur d. Potestas civitatis sen.*

⁴ Cf. also Pecci, *Op. cit.*, p. cit.

New walls of Carrara marble were erected in 1376, from designs by Giovanni di Cecco, a stonemason, with niches for the statues of the Twelve Apostles.

The structure was not at first intended to attain the height of the first floor of the Palazzo, in order that the view from the windows might be unobstructed; but in 1465 the "*Savi*" of the Opera resolved,¹ that the building should be completed in the worthiest possible manner. In 1468, therefore, the further decoration and raising of the façade,—which thus covered the first and part of the second window of the first floor,—was commenced. It was, however, not completed until 1470,² under the direction of Antonio Federighi, who, according to Tizio,³ was then "*Rector*" of the Opera.

The interior adornment of the chapel meanwhile had not been neglected. We know that, in 1392, the painters Cristoforo di Maestro Bindoccio and Meo painted jointly a figure of the Saviour; and in the

¹ ARCHIVIO detto. *Deliberazioni* E. ix., c. 20. "Con quello degno modo li parrà."

² ARCHIVIO detto. *Libro delle due Rose*, cc. 117 and 135. In August 1470 10 lire were paid to Guidoccio Cozzarelli, *le quali sonno per sei armi dipense alla Cappella del Campo e al davanzale rifece a detta cappella*; and 14 lire were paid to Maestro Giusto da Foiano *per carratura di una pietra rechò, misesi alla Cappella del Campo in uno dei fianchi dove sono intagliate le ghirlande*.

³ Tizio, *Op. cit.*, vol. v., p. 61. 1467-8 (*Spring*; before March): "hujus Savini primordio Cappella publico in Foro et plumbeo tecto, ac caeteris ad eam iam destinatis penitus absoluta est, et sub æditui dispositione, ac regimine constituta. Cappellæ enim hujus architectus Antonius Federighius Senensis Vir in arte sculptoria, et in omni architecturæ genere peritissimus, qui hac tempestate operæ publicæ Templi Senensis Magister preficiebatur." This is further confirmed by Alleghetti in his *Diario* (Muratori, xxiii., p. 763), under date 1468: "*In questo tempo si scoperse, e levossi il tetto della Cappella del Campo per fare le volte su le more o vero colonne di marmo, che vi si son fatte.*"

same year Cristoforo also executed an altar-panel for the sum of 18 florins.

The restoration and votive embellishment being now agreed upon, as stated above, it was decided to raise 30 ducats from the taxes on corn ; and a Committee of three—Giovanni Battista Piccolomini, Conte di Buonsignori and Niccolò Campana—were elected to superintend the undertaking.¹ In spite, however, of the determination oftentimes expressed, nothing seems to have been done² beyond the passing of further resolutions, providing for upkeep and general repairs, until March 6th,³ 1536-37, when Bazzi was formally entrusted with the work of painting in fresco the wall behind the altar. A new Committee had been formed meanwhile, consisting of the following persons : Camillo Ascarelli, Belisario di Guido Bandinelli, Fabio di Girolamo Garghi, Alfonso di Francesco Acharigi, and Francesco Tolomei, *Rector* of the Cathedral works. These Commissioners covenanted to pay Bazzi 60 scudi in four instalments ; whilst he undertook to complete the order by the Feast of the Assumption in the same year. This circumstance is furthermore confirmed by an entry in the "*Scritture Concistoriali*" ordering the payment of the first instalment.⁴ Nevertheless the painter's heart does

¹ ARCHIVIO DI STATO. *Deliberazioni della Balìa*, November 25th, 1527, a. c. 205. *Nuovi Documenti cit.*, p. 471.

² ARCHIVIO detto. *Concistoro Scritture*, 1530-32, and 1536. *Notulæ*.

³ ARCH. NOT. PROV. SIENA. 1536-7, 6 Marzo. *Rogiti di Ser Sigismondo Treccerchi*. Cf. APPENDIX No. 24.

⁴ ARCHIVIO DI STATO. *Concistoro Scritture ad annum* 1536-7, Filza 51. "Per parte deli spettabilissimi Quattro cittadini operari e commessarii dell' Illustrissimo Concistoro dei Magnifici Signori e Capitano del popolo del inclita città di Siena a far dipignere l' altare

not seem to have been in his work this time. Former experiences had perhaps taught him the difficulties attending the raising of money and the settlement of debt. Maybe the lavish expenditure on the Emperor's visit in the previous April had emptied the Public Treasury, and thus no cash was forthcoming. He would seem, however, to have actually set to work before the end of 1537; since on September 17th of that year, a sum of 3 lire were paid to "our *Camerlengo* Ugo Berti to be given to Pier Giovanni," the stone-cutter, for encasing the shell of the arch, inside which the fresco was painted;¹ showing that some degree of preparation had been reached by the autumn of that year.

Very soon afterwards, however, the artist appears to have departed to the Court of his patron, Jacomo V., Prince of Piombino; where, in spite of the adjurations of the Sienese authorities, he seems to have stayed until the end of 1538. During this

della cappella de la piazza publica deputati con ampla autorita. Voi magnifico Crescentio Turamini banchiere di Siena depositario deli denari dela detta pittura date e pagate d' essi denari che havete in deposito al generoso cavaliere missere Giovannantonio Soddoma pittore deputato a dipingere l' altare, scudi quindici, cioè scudi 15 quali se li denno a buon conto e per dar principio alla detta opera, secondo le conventioni fatte con detti operai per una scritta et che cosi facciate senza vostro preiuditio e danno, hanno li detti operai deliberato e ordinato ad 14 di Marzo, 1536." Cf. *Mil. Doc.*, p. 185.

¹ ARCHIVIO DELL' OPERA DEL DUOMO. *Lib. Giallo detto dell' Assunta*, f. 369,

"Christo MDXXXVII.

"Spese si faranno e facionsi a la capella di piazza per dipegnerla de dare a dì XVII di Settembre lire tre che se li fan buoni a Ugo Berti nostro camarlengo, che li pagò a Pier Giovanni scarpelino per ropare (*sic*) el arco del nichio, sono a uscita del detto Ugo, f. 116 . . . lire iij."

time, a lengthy correspondence continued between the Signoria of Siena, the painter, and the Prince.¹ The Signoria on April 16th, 1538, requested Bazzi to return at once and finish the painting. But on May 2nd, at the Prince's request, permission was granted to the artist to prolong his visit throughout that month. More letters followed on June 17th, addressed both to painter and Prince, seemingly without effect. On July 3rd the exasperated Signoria wrote once more to Jacomo V.; but the truant did not apparently return to Siena until the end of the year.²

Several notices³ among the resolutions of the Concistoro during this period refer to the work; one of which records the ordering of a curtain adorned with the Communal Arms, to hang before the fresco.

On February 21st and 29th and March 19th,⁴ 1539 (st. sen.), we find the Signoria and Bazzi agreeing to the appointment of experts to value the work; and once more, Bartolomeo di David and Domenico Beccafumi (styled here *Mecuccio*) are chosen arbitrators. On April 2nd the final pay-

¹ ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI SIENA. *Copia Lettere*, 1538, vol. 1748. See APPENDIX No. 25. Cf. *Mil. Doc.*, vol. iii. pp. 130-134. Gaye, *Op. cit.*, vol. ii. pp. 266-9, 274-5.

² An original letter dated *August 13th*, 1539, from the Prince, taking upon himself the whole blame for Bazzi's delay, is still in existence. (ARCH. detto. Balia, *Lettere*, 1539, vol. 168, No. 49.) It will be observed that an interval of five months separates the completion of the transaction and the Prince's apology.

³ ARCHIVIO detto. *Concistoro Deliberazioni*, vol. 1034. 1538 (st. sen.), 5 Gennaio, f. 4^v; 26 Gennaio, f. 17; 2 Febbraio, f. 25^v-26; 5 Febbraio, f. 28.

⁴ ARCHIVIO detto. *Concistoro Deliberazioni*, vol. 1034, 21 e 29 Febbraio, f. 43^v-44; vol. 1035, 19 Marzo f. 6^v.

ment is recorded¹ in the books of the Opera del Duomo.²

We can no longer form an opinion with regard to the merits or defects of this painting; for the weather first; next "improvement" at the hands of Liborio Guerrini in 1800;³ and lastly the weather once more, have left little of the original work discernible at the present day.

The building and decoration of the Cappella di Piazza leads naturally to the open question concerning the tradition that reports Bazzi to have received the title of *Count Palatine* from the Emperor Charles V., whose visit to Siena in 1536—the year prior to the commission for the painting—had aroused such unbounded enthusiasm in the breasts of the Sienese populace. The *crux* of the evidence in favour of this tradition rests upon the accuracy, or conversely, of the inscription given below. Della Valle⁴ quotes the version of one of Monsignor Bottari's correspondents as follows: *In honorem Beatae Mariae Virginis Io: Antonius cognomento Sodoma Senensis eques, et Comes*

¹ ARCHIVIO DELL' OPERA DEL DUOMO. *Libro Giallo detto dell' Assunta*, f. 369.

"Christo MDXXXVII.

"E a dì ij d' aprile 1539 lire cinquantasei se li fan buoni a Ugo Berti, camarlengo che li pagò a missere Giovantonio Sodoma dipetore, per resto de la dipegnitura de la cappella di piazza, sono a sua uscita, f. 146. . . . lire lvj."

² A red chalk drawing for this work is preserved in the Library of the Academy in Siena.

³ Romagnoli (*Op. cit.*) tells us that this was done at the expense of the market folk; and that after such restoration little trace of Bazzi's original work was discernible. He also adds that it was badly injured before the earthquake of 1798; and that the figures of Saints at the sides were by Anselmi, which is obviously impossible.

⁴ Della Valle, *Op. cit.*, p. 251.

Palatinus faciebat MDXXXVIII., and then pointing out that the work is a fresco,—not a panel as this writer asserts,—proceeds to correct the reading thus: *Ad honorem Virginis Mariae Io: Antonius . . . Sodona eques et Comes Palatinus faciebat MDXXXVIII.*

We would observe that all these versions¹ differ from each other considerably in detail; and, since the inscription was doubtless already more than half obliterated in Pecci's day, and has vanished altogether now, grave doubt may well arise, whether all these excellent folk have not built their house upon very insecure foundations. Not a single contemporary writer, or document, corroborates the story. Indeed, evidence of a negative kind is strong, in view of the regular and persistent use of the title *Cavaliere* only, in notices, agreements, deeds, the Piombino correspondence,² etc.; a circumstance which would certainly be unusual had Bazzi been really honoured with a higher distinction and more exalted rank.³ In

¹ Romagnoli (*Op. cit.*) copies Bottari's version, but states that he read the inscription *before Guerrini's restoration of the painting*, and found therein the word *Senensis*, which he complains that Della Valle has omitted in his corrected version. But we should also note that this said correspondent commences his information thus: "*Fu Gio. Antonio figlio di Giacomo Razzi da Vergelle, villa distante 15 miglia da Siena, non da Vercelli di Piemonte,*" which shows how far his accuracy may be trusted.

² The varied spelling of this name throughout these documents is worthy of note. In all the letters, except the last from the Prince (wherein he is called *Sogdona*), *Sodone* or *Sodona* seems to have been the favourite variant.

³ An accidental discovery—communicated by the finder, Signor Alfredo Liberati of Siena—brought to light the following piece of evidence, which certainly supports our contention: ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI SIENA. *Libro dei Battezzatti dell' anno 1538.* Biccherna No. 10235.

the Buoninsegni letter likewise, recording the painter's death—where, surely, the title, had it existed, would have found place—Bazzi is merely styled *il Cavaliere Sodoma*.¹

We may as well, before proceeding further in the narrative, examine the remaining transactions between our painter and the authorities, concluded within this period. In January 1536-37 two entries should be noted;² one in the *Deliberazioni della Balia*, and the other in the *Archivio dell'Opera del Duomo*; both of which refer to the "writing off on account of his high merits" (*attentis virtutibus*) of certain sums of money owed by Bazzi to the "Comune" of Siena. The first entry also records a somewhat remarkable permission: viz., to fashion at his own expense a lath-and-plaster model of a horse to be set up in the city, wherever the authorities

"*Camilla Maria Romola, figlia di Giovanbattista di Girolamo legrittiere si battezzo a li xj di Novembre, compari Ferrando di Valentia, Hispano, et il Sodoma cavaliere et dipentore.*" This proves that so late as the 11th November in 1538 our artist was still known as *Cavaliere* among his friends and acquaintances.

¹ Cf. *post*, p. 237.

² ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI SIENA. *Deliberazioni della Balia*, 1536-37, p. 12^v 5 di Gennaio. "*Et attentis virtutibus domini Joannis Antonii . . . alias Soddoma, pictoris, deliberaverunt solemniter quod ei relaxetur debitum quod habet cum Comuni Senensi occasione prestantiarum usque ad summam librarum XXV. denariorum et mandavimus predictis exactoribus prestantiarum quare dictis debitis cancellente et omni meliori modo, etc. . . . Ac etiam solemniter concesserunt licentiam prefato domino . . . conficiendi eum, prout designavit, ponendum postea in aliquo loco civitatis, prout videbitur collegio, sumptibus omnibus dicti domini.*" (In the margin of this entry is written "*pro Sogdoma pittore.*")

ARCHIVIO DELL' OPERA DEL DUOMO. *Libro dell' Assuntà*, p. 135. 10 di Gennaio, 1536-37. "*Sbatterebe e cancellarebe tuto il debito che il Cav. M. Gio. Antonio detto Soddoma dipentore ha sopra di cotesto membro (delle Preste) per cause di preste vecchie non passando la somma di £20 quale debito per li meriti e per vista sua se li relassa.*"

should think fit. The fate of this animal has not gone down to posterity; but it was probably intended to rival the celebrated steed modelled by Beccafumi on the occasion of the Emperor's visit.

Two other productions, both in the Palazzo Pubblico, and mentioned by Vasari,¹ are still in existence: viz., the *Resurrection of Christ*, and the *Madonna and Child with SS. Ansano and Galgano*. Nothing definite is known concerning this latter work, set over a doorway in the *Sala del Matrimonio*; albeit Milanese places the date of execution in 1535.² It is a coarsely-executed, ill-proportioned work, and calls for no particular notice.

The other composition is much the finer of the two; and here tradition once more introduces the painter's own portrait, in the person of one of the sleeping soldiers.³ Vasari tells us that it originally adorned the room in which "*the salt was sold*" (*dove si vende il sale*); and Milanese, setting the same date on the work (1535), avers, judging from the coat-of-arms painted below, that it must have been commissioned by Giovannbattista di Jacomo Tondi; then Chamberlain to the Comune. In 1842, in consequence of certain alterations carried out in the Palazzo, the fresco was cut from the wall, mutilated, and re-erected in a room, used at that time by the

¹ Vasari, *Op. cit.*, p. 392, and note 2.

² Frizzoni (*Op. cit.*, p. 173) following Romagnoli (*Op. cit.*), fixes the date as 1537.

³ A red chalk sketch of two soldiers asleep, probably intended for this or a similar work, is to be seen among the exhibited drawings in the Uffizi Collection (No. 1935^F); and in the same collection, and in that of the Castello at Milan, are to be found various sketches for the figure of the Saviour Himself,



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F. nno : Lomocara.

EAGLE AND "PUTTI."

PALAZZO PUBBLICO, SIENA.

Gonfaloniere as his study, and now reserved for a similar purpose by the Sindaco of Siena. The three shields, with the Imperial Eagle and the *putti*, painted above the work, were then separated from the original composition, and inserted under an arch in another room, where the City Registers are now kept. They are therefore usually overlooked, although the children's forms, of singular loveliness and charm, are well worthy of more than a passing glance. If we compare the gracious figure of the Saviour, stepping from the open tomb, with the *Ascension* at Trequanda,¹ and with the *Virgin borne up to Heaven* at S. Bernardino, we find in all three admirable illustration of upward striving force, united with an unsurpassed sense of buoyancy. The figures do actually seem to be rising through the power of their own volition without the loss of material solidity.

Another—though not quite so successful—*Resurrection*, bearing the inscription IO. ANT. EQVES. VE. AUCT. F.A. 1535, on a label below, once hung in the Church of S. Tomaso Aquina in Naples;² and is now preserved in the Royal Museum in that city. Although this work, painted on panel, is more stolidly conceived, several strong points of resemblance exist between the two compositions. A striking figure of a man, with upturned gaze, reclining half-clad in the centre of the picture, is

¹ Cf. p. 200, note 1.

² It is not without interest to observe that in the oft-mentioned Inventory (APPENDIX No. 31) we find there two notices coming together: "*un quadro con S. Tommè; Christo in resurrectione.*"

obviously a portrait; and since it bears a distinct relationship to the famous likeness at Monte Oliveto, and the same lineaments recur continually in Bazzi's work about this time, the figure may, with some show of reason, be deemed a presentment of the painter himself.

The vexed question with regard to the dating of the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Church of S. Agostino at Siena, must now occupy your attention. This fine panel was painted to the order of the Arduini brothers, Giovanni and Arduino; and was the cause, in 1536,¹ of legal proceedings between the painter and his employers. The date of the suit has led many writers,—including Milanese himself,—to set the painting of this picture *too late*: *i.e.* contemporary with the lawsuit itself; whilst Frizzoni,² on what we cannot help thinking insufficient grounds, fixes the date *too early*. That learned writer submits, as his most cogent argument, certain passages from a poem, *Sulle Lode delle Donne Senese*, published in Siena in 1533 by

¹ ARCH. NOT. PROV. SIENA. 1536. 13 Ottobre. Filza 5 dei *Lodi di Ser Francesco Figliucci*. See APPENDIX No. 26.

Vannoccio Biringucci, the arbitrator in this dispute, was a man of considerable eminence; an architect, and a writer of a celebrated work on *Pyrotechnics*, printed by Venturino Roffinello in Venice in 1540. The son of Paolo di Vannoccio Biringucci and Lucrezia di Bartolommeo, he was born on October 20th, 1480, and became a strong supporter of the Petrucci family; accompanying Borghesi Petrucci in his exile to Rome in 1515. He thereby incurred the rancour of the historian Sigismondo Tizio, who accuses him of much wickedness, and of tampering with public money. He, however, held many offices of state; *inter alia*, the chief magistracy of the Republic in January 1531-32; and in 1535 he succeeded Baldassare Peruzzi as Capo Maestro of the Opera del Duomo. For further information concerning this man the student may be referred to *Mil. Doc.*, vol. iii. pp. 124-6.

² Frizzoni, *Op cit.*, pp. 152-4.



Photo - Lombardi.

MADONNA AND CHILD.

DETAIL FROM "THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI."

PICCOLOMINI CHAPEL, CHURCH OF S. AGOSTINO, SIENA.



Photo: Lombardi.

HEAD OF THE YOUNG KING.
DETAIL FROM THE SAME.

one *Phylolauro da Cave*,¹ to show that, at that date at all events, the picture was well known in Siena, and much admired. The contention, based upon a mere *ex-parte* statement, hardly supports the suggestion that the work dates so far back as 1518. Bazzi, as we have seen, left Siena at the commencement of 1519, and reappeared there in 1525. Ample time would be available for the execution of this painting, between that date and 1533. There are, moreover, as Frizzoni candidly points out, distinct Leonardesque features in the work,—for example, in the countenances of the old kneeling king and of the handsome young one behind him: elements which might reasonably point to a recent renewal of earlier influences. As regards the so-called portrait of the artist himself, to be found in this painting, Vasari² merely describes the figure (indicated by so many authorities) as a

¹ This writer of *vers de société* does not appear to have been a native of Siena; but from his long sojourn there, and his numerous poems written on Sienese personages of eminence, he is included by De Angelis in his work *Biografia degli Scrittori Senesi* (Siena: Giovanni Rossi, 1824, vol. i.). That author gives a lengthy description of a copy of his *Dialogo Amorofo*, which includes the *Lode* above mentioned, and was dedicated to the Duke of Malfi. Whether this *Filolauro* is identical with one Gio. Battista *Filauro*, a native of Aquila, who, according to Niccolò Toppi (*Biblioteca Napolitana*, p. 132, col. 2), wrote poetry that had great vogue in his day, is a moot point. Filauro, it appears, studied law and letters with great profit in Siena for the space of three years, but through *legitimi impedimenti* was unable to complete his University course. That this student must have been virtually contemporary with Bazzi (and also with Filolauro) is evident from the fact that his poem on the *Mysteries of the Passion* was published as early as 1578,—some time, perhaps, after his decease. He appears also to have composed *canzone*, sonnets and pastorals that were much admired, and a poem in fifteen cantos, entitled *Orlando Saggio*, to rival Ariosto. See APPENDIX No. 26A.

² Vasari, *Op. cit.*, p. 395.

"*pastore*" (a *shepherd*); and it is purely *tradition*, that Bazzi himself is here portrayed. That a portrait of some particular person was intended, would account for the *lifelike* appearance of this figure, which is the special element noted by Vasari; but Bazzi need not necessarily himself have been the model; and—as the late Herr H. Ulman¹ remarks—the features bear little or no resemblance to the authentic Monte Oliveto portrait.²

Thus, with all due deference to so distinguished an art-critic as Dr. Frizzoni, we cannot but hold the view, that no absolutely incontrovertible reason exists, to date this picture so early as 1518. Indeed, the evidence would rather tend to favour a later date: perhaps 1530-32. That the Arduini quarrelled with the painter, and brought an action against him, is proved fact; but it is not impossible that this lawsuit may have extended over five or six years; or proceedings may not have been instituted until the plaintiffs had lost all patience with the defendants. The rights of the parties were eventually adjusted; and it was decided that the Arduini brothers, on receipt of a sum of seven scudi, were to restore to the painter a *tondo* representing "*Our Lady, SS. Elizabeth and Joseph*,"³

¹ MS. notes in the late H. Ulman's copy of Frizzoni's *L'Arte del Rinascimento*, preserved at the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence. Even Della Valle makes a similar comment.

² It is worth noting that if Bazzi wore long hair and a clean-shaven face, and portrayed himself thus (Vasari, *Op. cit.*, p. 388) in the fresco of *Christ at the Column* in 1514, why should he have altered so much by 1518?

³ Can this be the *tondo* in the Collection of the late Colonel Legh, at High Legh, Cheshire? The mention of a *tondo* so late in our artist's life is rather remarkable; but there is nothing to prove that this particular work had not been painted long before this date.



Photo: Alinari.

THE NATIVITY OF THE VIRGIN.

CHURCH OF THE CARMINE, SIENA.

To face p. 219.

which they seem to have held as some sort of security; together with its frame, etc. (*con tutti i suoi fornamenti cioè el festone dorato, nel essere che si trova*). The picture now adorns the Piccolomini chapel in the Church of S. Agostino in Siena, and bears an inscription added by the owners of that chapel: ASCANIUS PICCOLOMINEUS ARCHIEP. SENARUM QUINTUS: with their coat-of-arms at either end. A red chalk drawing for the Moorish king—beardless—is preserved in the Library of the Sienese Academy of Fine Arts; and other sketches in the same medium are to be found among the drawings in the Spannocchi Collection, shown at the Exhibition of Sacred Art at Siena in 1904.

Vasari¹ makes mention of another painting in Siena, to which passing notice should here be accorded: viz. a *Nativity of the Virgin*, in the Chapel of the Sacrament at the church of the Carmine. For some unaccountable motive, the authorship of this unequal and awkwardly composed work was taken by the Committee of the above-mentioned Exhibition from Bazzi, and given to his pupil, *Giomo del Sodoma*. The remarkably beautiful and characteristic female head,—recalling Roxana,—in the very centre of the composition, should, through its unmistakable characteristics, have precluded, we would fancy,—even without Vasari’s *express statement*,—the possibility of such a mistake. No one but Bazzi himself could have created such an exquisite head; which alone would rescue any composition, however poor, from insignificance.

Della Valle² mentions, in addition, another

¹ Vasari, *Op. cit.*, p. 390.

² Della Valle, *Op. cit.*, p. 269.

Nativity of the Madonna, in the Chapel of the Villa Bandinelli (now Nerucci): *Il Monistero*. This interesting picture, however, though strongly recalling in certain elements our artist's manner, alike in conception and treatment, has either been so over-painted as to efface the essential impress of the master's hand; or is but the *copy of a lost original*. The circumstance of a thorough restoration, (?) in 1820, by Giuseppe Collignon, would account, perhaps, for the present unfortunate condition of the painting. The date 1540 is probably spurious.

Vestiges of yet another fresco,—a "*Pietà*,"—recorded by our biographer, still remain on the walls of the Casa Bambagini Galletti in Via Stalloreggi. "*A Dead Christ*," says Vasari, "of wondrous divinity and grace."¹ Tradition varies concerning the usual appellation of this work: viz. "*la Madonna del Corvo*:" given, it is asserted by some, on account of a *crow* that once figured in the composition; and by others, in memory of a vow registered during one of those fearful visitations of the Plague, which so frequently overtook Siena. However this may be, the sadly damaged painting exhibits great dignity and force of style. A drawing for the composition is preserved in the Uffizi Collection (Case 343, No. 563).²

To this phase of our artist's career two more fine large panels also appertain. One of these remains *in situ*, over the altar in the north transept of the

¹ Vasari, *Op. cit.*, p. 396. "*Un Cristo morto . . . ha una grazia e divinità maravigliosa.*"

² Della Valle (*Op. cit.*, p. 278) records that this drawing once belonged to Abate Galgano Ciaccheri, librarian of the Communal Library in Siena.

Collegiate Church at Sinalunga ; whilst the other, formerly in one of the churches at Colle di Val d' Elsa, passed about the year 1840 from the possession of Cav. Rosselli del Turco, into the Royal Pinacoteca at Turin for the sum of 1200 scudi. The Sinalunga painting, a *Madonna enthroned with her Child* standing beside her knee, and surrounded by SS. *Sigismund, Roch, Sebastian, Anthony Abbas*, and the young *S. John the Baptist*, has been extensively repainted, it is true ; but nevertheless displays great dignity of style in colour and composition. The sentimental weaknesses, that mar so much of our artist's work, are not altogether absent, though some of the figures, notably that of the Holy Child,—which recalls divers other examples of paintings belonging to this period,—are distinctly pleasing. Moreover we are struck by many points of similarity to the *Adoration of the Magi*, already mentioned, especially the countenances of the Madonna and of the handsome Royal Saint, reminiscent of the youthful King in the better-known painting. The Turin picture, although in far finer condition, is harder, and, speaking generally, less pleasing. Here the *Virgin*, half-seated on a sort of high dais, leans over somewhat ungracefully towards her *Divine Son*, whose attitude also lacks distinction. On either side stand SS. *Catherine of Alexandria and Lucy*, whilst before the Madonna kneel SS. *Jerome and John the Evangelist*, accompanied respectively by a lion and an eagle.¹

¹ It is curious to remark how often Bazzi in these large altar compositions repeats the same selection of saints ; those most frequently

Some light is thrown incidentally upon these years of our painter's private life, by chance entries in registers, etc. On May 19th, 1524, his mother-in-law, *Caterina del Niccolò de' Peri de' Galli*, executed her Will,¹ in which she devised to her beloved daughter, *Beatrice*, wife of "*Gio. Antonio . . . alias Sòdroma pittore*," two houses in Via Vallerozzi; one of which, we are told, was "*rincontro*" (opposite to) the Sun Tavern, whilst the other stood "*riscontro*" (beside) *all'erede di Giovanagnolo*.² To these hereditaments, the painter himself, on October 23rd, 1534,³ added another house,—

chosen being *SS. Sebastian, Roch, Anthony Abbas, Sigismond, Jerome, Lucy*, and the two *Catherines*. The introduction of other saints in his groups is comparatively rare.

¹ ARCH. NOT. PROV. SIENA. *Rogiti di Ser Ventura de Cionne Ciogni da Lucignano, Val di Chiana*, Filza del 1523-27, Rep. A, Busta 604.

No. 48. Testj di Caterina del fu Niccolò de' Peri, e Vedova di Luca di Galli da Siena fatto nel 19 di Maggio, 1524. "Lascia a Beatrice sua figlia (*eius dilectæ filię*) e moglie di *Gio Antonio . . . alias Sòdroma pittore* due sue case poste una nella contrada di Vallerozzi in loco dicto *rincontro* al Sole, l'altra nella stessa contrada in luogo detto *riscontro* all' *erede* di Giovanagnolo. Erede universale Niccolò figliuolo della Testatrice." Milanese MSS., Bib. Com. Siena, P. III. 49, p. 149.

It is curious to note that the testatrix makes her second son *Niccolò* her residuary legatee. Her eldest son *Bartolommeo*,—who seems to have been a stonemason,—may have been a doubtful character, since on December 9th, 1538, he was, we read, banished from Siena for manslaughter. ARCH. DI STATO DI SIENA. *Ufficiali di Custodia, Libro delle Condanne* dal 1515-36, No. 102. 1538. *Die viiij Decembris*. "*Et posuerunt in banno sicut formam statuti Bartolomeum pieri Galli de Senis lapicidam pro homicidio per eum commissio in personam Antonii Mariae bennardini similiter lapicide de Senis.*"

² This person was most likely some relation of Riccio's second wife, Giuditta, daughter of Giovanni di Giuliano and D^a Arcangela Giovannangeli.

³ ARCH. NOT. PROV. SIENA. 23 Ottobre, 1534. *Rogiti di Ser Baldassare Corti da Pienza (Gestioni Notarili all' anno 1585)*. Atto 192. Rep. A, Busta 988. It is worth observing that in 1534, *ten years after the execution of her Will*, part of the property adjoining the

apparently adjoining. The latter property,—purchased from one Sebastiano d' Andrea, a shoemaker, for the sum of 100 florins of four lire each,—would appear to have been subject to certain rights pertaining to, and a rent-charge of six florins a year payable by, the Brothers of the Convent of S. Francis; which latter amount Bazzi undertook to refund to the vendor and his heirs male, over and above the purchase money; binding himself furthermore to refrain from making substantial alterations (varying the number of rooms, etc.) to the fabric of the house without the consent of the Franciscan Community. From the document setting forth the transaction we gather that a moiety of the purchase money was represented by certain advances to the vendor (loans perhaps) made previously by our artist; and another moiety, by 23 *braccie* (ells) of Spanish cord (corduroy); so that the cash balance at the time of the sale only amounted to 38 lire 15 soldi 4 den.

The painter's only daughter, *Faustina*, as we have said, married comparatively late in life, in 1543,¹ *Bartolommeo Neroni* (*il Riccio*), Bazzi's best-known pupil and imitator; then, according

message conveyed by this deed is described as belonging to *domine Caterine relictæ Luce de Gallis*. APPENDIX No. 27.

¹ ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI SIENA. 1542-43, Settembre. *Denunzia dei Contratti*, c. 114. "Bartolommeus alias Riccio dipentore se ipsum denuntpiat quod duxit in uxorem D. Faustinam D. Jo Antonii alias Sodoma cum promissione dotium flor: centum." Milanese and Borghesi MSS., Bib. Com. Siena, P. III. 24, p. 106^t, and Milanese MSS., P. III. 49, p. 265^t.

If Bazzi could provide his daughter with such a sum on her marriage, he could not have been so very poor.

to Milanese,¹ "*in his first youth.*" She took with her a dowry of 100 florins; but died leaving two daughters, *Parsenia*,—who in her turn married *Scipione d'Antonio di Rinaldi* (1573)—and *Beatrice*, who became a nun.² To these ladies passed the houses and lands thus inherited and purchased by Bazzi and his wife.

The property which thus descended to them appears to have formed the subject of considerable litigation; in consequence, seemingly, of differences, which arose in connection with a Contract of Sale in July 1571³ to Marco di Pietro, a Sienese

¹ Vasari, *Op. cit.*, *Commentary*, p. 412. It is not easy to understand what Milanese means here by "*first youth*" (*sua prima gioventù*), since he speaks of work executed by Riccio at Asciano and Siena in 1534—at least *eight* years before his marriage—work such as he could scarcely have undertaken at an *earlier age than nineteen*.

² Romagnoli (*Op. cit.*, vol. vi. p. 721) says that Riccio wanted to marry one of his daughters to Lattanzio Bonajuti, who, however, declined the alliance. Mancini, quoted by Della Valle (*Op. cit.*, p. 300), says that one of his daughters became a nun, whilst the other married Pompilio Sellaro, a man "*commodo e onorato.*"

³ ARCH. NOT. PROV. SIENA. *Rogiti di Ser Luca Salvini*, Rep. A, Busta 948. 12 Luglio, 1571. "Parsenia e Beatrice sorelle e figlie del fu M^o Bartolommeo di Sebastiano de' Neroni detto M^o Riccio, pittore, fanno procuratore Girolamo Antonio Lenzini di Siena a litigare in corte di mercanzia contro M^o Marcho del fu Pietro pittore una loro casa posta nel 3^o di K. in contrada di Vallerozzi, da una parte la via pubblica, dal'altra convento di S. Francesco; dal'altra. . . E fra i Testimoni Pietro d' Antonio d'Arrigo, pittore Lucchese." (A rough translation of a Latin original. Milanese MSS. *cit.*, p. 266.)

From this document we learn that the house sold adjoined the Franciscan convent. Riccio seems to have also owned property in the Via Salicotto which he sold to the same purchaser.

ARCH. detto, Rep. detto. Busta detto. 1567, 29 Nov. "M^o Bartol^{eo} di Seb^{no} de Neroni alias M^o Riccio pittore vende a M^o Marco del fu Pietro pittore una casa posta in Salicotto." There are two deeds with regard to this sale (Nos. 5164 and 5156 in the same file), and in the latter of these the painter announces that the contract is undertaken with the consent of his second wife Giuditta and his two daughters.

According to Romagnoli (*Op. cit.*, vol. *cit.*, p. 782), one of these

painter.¹ It is unfortunate that nothing more definite can be learned concerning the exact whereabouts of these houses, etc., beyond the knowledge that a garden (*orto*) was attached, and that it lay adjacent to the Convent of S. Francesco, in the parish of S. Donato² and in the Vallerozzi quarter of the Terzo di Camollia. Hence we might conclude that the street now called *Via del Orto*, which runs down from the south side of the Via Vallerozzi, out of the Via dei Rossi, would perhaps furnish us with the necessary landmarks.

According to Vasari, Bazzi, "the impoverished spendthrift,"³ jealous of Beccafumi's rising fame, turned his back upon Siena, and made his way to Volterra, with the intention of sojourning there for some time. Here he enters the household of

daughters,—probably Parsenia,—in 1573 claimed 170 ducats from the Opera del Duomo for a design made by her father for a choir-stall; but was awarded 70 ducats only, by the Court to which she had appealed (*MEMORIE DELL' OPERA*, 1573). The stall is still to be seen in its place, and the drawing is preserved in the Uffizi.

¹ Romagnoli says that this painter and Marco da Siena were one and the same person; but a pencil note on the margin of his MS. in the handwriting of Milanesi himself contradicts this statement. Among the papers of this latter writer in the Communal Library at Siena (P. III. 51, p. 309^t), there is a quotation from one of the documents regarding the above case as follows: "*Mag^o Marius olim petro pictor Senensis seu de Pontremoli.*" *Ser Fabio Lomeri*, Prot. v. c. 292.

² It is in the registers of this parish that the following entries occur: (*ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI SIENA, Libro della Lira*)—

1531, No. 125, fol. 64, St^a Donato a Montanini. *M^a Giovan Ant^a dipentor alias el Sodoma* lire cento. L. 100.

1549, f. 37, K. (Kmollia). S. Donato in Montanini. *M^a Beatrice di Lucha Galli dona già del Sodoma* £ vinti. L. 20. *Note*.—She is entered *thus* twice in the same register.

³ Vasari, *Op. cit.*, p. 397. Milanesi draws attention in note 1 to the inaccuracy of this statement.

Lorenzo di Galeotto de' Medici,¹ who is alleged to have employed him to paint a canvas representing the *Fall of Phaethon*. All trace of this work has vanished; but the adoption of the term *tela* would perhaps authorize the suggestion, that the painting in question was a ceiling-cloth; and a fine drawing for some such purpose is still in existence in the Uffizi (Case 345, No. 1644).² This drawing enables us to repel once more the oft-repeated accusations of negligence brought against our artist by the ill-natured Aretine.

Bazzi, it is known, during a visit to Volterra, and at the request of the monks of the Convent of S. Francis, retouched the *Circumcision*,³ painted for them by Luca Signorelli; entirely remodelling the effigy of the Divine Infant. Such tampering with a brother-artist's work is in more than questionable taste; but the *Christ-Child* itself,—though entirely out of keeping with the rest of the figures,—does no discredit to Bazzi at his best; whereas children were not Signorelli's strong point.

At least three other paintings at Volterra pass under our artist's name: viz., a *Crucifixion, with the Virgin, SS. Mary Magdalen and John*, in the chapel of the Confraternità della Croce di Giorno, at S. Francesco,—clearly a repainted school-

¹ Who this Lorenzo de' Medici was we do not know. Perhaps a cadet, or even a bastard scion, of the great Florentine House.

² Vasari, *Op. cit.*, p. 397. Another ceiling design, one of the panels of which contains this same subject, formerly belonged to M. Destailleur, of Paris. It disappeared, however, at the sale of his collection in 1896.

³ Now in the National Gallery, London, No. 1128. Vasari (*Op. cit.*, vol. iii. p. 685) states that the figure of the Holy Child had been injured by damp, but deprecates the alteration.

work;¹ *A Descent from the Cross*, in the Chapel of S. Carlo, adjoining the Duomo,—an indifferent oil sketch, also by some scholar;² and a very pleasing *Marriage of S. Catherine*, in the Palazzo Ricciarelli, which perhaps dates from this period.

This visit would seem to have occurred about the middle of the year 1539; but certain *apparent* confusion arises through the difference in time computation adopted in Siena and Pisa respectively.³

Our artist soon "wearied," as Vasari tells us, of the thralldom of princely servitude; and the autumn finds him at work in Pisa, where he encountered once more the rivalry of his enemy Beccafumi.

Thanks to the protection of Battista del Cer-

¹ Frizzoni (*Op. cit.*, p. 185) gives this work to Riccio, but it seems hardly good enough even for that painter.

² Frizzoni (*Op. cit.*, p. 175) justly observes that Jansen (*Op. cit.*, p. 194) must have made some mistake in lavishing praise on a work, that at best could only be a copy of some finer work.

³ The following notes may assist us to elucidate the discrepancies apparent here. Heywood, *Palio and Ponte cit.*, p. 109, note 2: "According to the Pisan method of computation, the year commenced with March 25th, dating *ab incarnatione*. This was the case also with the Sienese and Florentine calendars; but while the two last-mentioned peoples dated their year from March 25th *following the commencement of the common year*, the Pisan dated it from March 25th *preceding the commencement of the common year*." Cf. also *Sketches on the Old Road through France to Florence*, by A. H. Hallam Murray, Henry W. Nevinson and Montgomery Carmichael (London: John Murray, 1904), p. 227, note: "The Pisans almost alone in Tuscany logically reckoned from the Incarnation itself. Most other places adopted the Florentine Style of reckoning from a year *after* the Incarnation. The Pisans, therefore, are nine months and seven days ahead of our notation, the Florentines two months and twenty-five days behind us. There were a few places in Tuscany (*e.g.* Arezzo, Pistoia, Cortona) which began the year *a Nativitate*. Outside Tuscany we have the Venetian Style, beginning the year on March 1st, *before* our January 1st. As may be imagined, the business of giving a modern date to old Tuscan documents and inscriptions is attended by an abundance of pitfalls."

velliera,¹ he obtained employment from Messer Bastiano della Seta,² at that time Rector of the Opera del Duomo (1539-42); and plentiful and elaborate indeed are the notices³ existing in the books of the Opera regarding the work done there.

A noticeable feature at this juncture is the recurrence of the name of "*Tisoni*," which has given rise to so much conjecture. The reappearance of this name here sets at rest once for all the theory that Bazzi took the appellation from vain purpose and pride, when created *Cavaliere*, and dropped it again when old age and poverty overtook him. As a matter of fact, apart from Vasari's insinuations, no proof exists of this alleged *poverty*; and since no other more valid reason is forthcoming, we are drawn to the conclusion that the assumption of the name was the *fruit of mere caprice*.

¹ This celebrated wood-carver and architect, born in June 1489, was the son of one Pietro di Pietro, a master carpenter and wood-carver (*maestro di legname e d' intaglio*) of eminence from Corsica, whose workshop was in S. Martino alla Pietra di Lungarno. Giovanni Battista del Cervelliera executed a great deal of the fine carved woodwork in the Pisa Duomo, including the stalls in the choir, and the Bishop's throne in the nave. He was also employed in much of the architectural work both there and in the Campo Santo, and stood artistic sponsor to Perino del Vaga with the Pisan authorities. At the wish of the Grand-Duke Cosimo, who held him in high esteem, he was chosen *Maestro* of the Opera, and afterwards architect; and was protected in a lawsuit brought against him by the *Operaio*, in which, without such powerful assistance, he must have lost his case. He died, after a long illness, about 1570. (Vasari, *Op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 469 and note; and vol. v. p. 618; and I. G. Supino, *L'Arte del Rinascimento nel Primaziale di Pisa*: Roma, 1893, pp. 19, 20.)

² Vasari, *Op. cit.*, vol. *cit.*, p. *cit.*

³ These have been carefully extracted by Cav. Supino, the able director of the Bargello in Florence (*Op. cit.*, pp. 28-32), and by Sig. Tanfani Centofanti, director of the Pisan State Archives (*Op. cit.*), whence most of our information is drawn.

The earliest notice with reference to our artist in Pisa occurs, as we have seen, in 1539,¹ when the Opera del Duomo supplied him on loan with some furniture and a quantity of painting materials. These things were eventually returned, we are told; but being worn and damaged by use, were debited to the painter's account in the Chapter Registers.

His first commission appears to have been the *Pietà*,² which now hangs at the farther end of the Tribuna in the Duomo. This painting, now much darkened and at best an unsatisfactory work, seems,³ together with other pictures by Sogliani and Beccafumi, and Bazzi's *Sacrifice of Abraham*, to have been originally intended to adorn the Sacristy; but no record is forthcoming in reference to a transfer thence to their actual position.

The *Pietà* was completed on May 5th, 1540;⁴

¹ ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI PISA. ARCHIVIO DELL' OPERA DEL DUOMO. *Memoriale*, n. 3, p. 45 (455, c. 16), "a maestro Ganantonio d' Iacopo Tisoni di Verssè pitore detto el Sodoma da Sena."

² ARCHIVI detti. *Ricordanze* c. 63^b (461, 22). "Maestro Giovanantonio d' Iacopo Tisoni da Verssè chavalieri detto Sodoma pitore de' dare a dì 12 di Novembre lire quarantadue portò chontanti a chonto d' uno quadro in saghrestia in el mexo di tutti e' quadri à preso à dipingere per in duomo e lavorallo in Pisa." It is to be observed that the title of *Cavalier* is the only one used throughout these documents.

³ This picture has been many times restored; notably in 1830, and again somewhat recently by Sig. Domenico Fiscali.

⁴ ARCHIVI detti. *Ricordanze*, c. 122 (461, 22). "MDXXXXI. Maestro Giovanantonio d' Iacopo Tisoni da Verssè pitore de' avere a dì 5 di mago ducati otanta di lire sette per ducato che tanti restammo d' achordo questo dì, darli per dipintura d' un quadro del mexo di saghrestia che v'è dipinto la Pietà chon altre nove figure al naturale chon axuro intramarino e la figura di S. Bartolomeo, titolo de l' altare, auto questo dì in duomo, chon pato che s' e colori d' axuro intramarino che vi sono fusino di più valsuta che gl' altri axuri delle taule e quadri che sono in duomo, di ducati dodici si gl' abi a fare buono da ditti ducati

and explicit notices refer to the money expended on that costly material, "ultramarine," of which a great deal seems to have been consumed in the work at Pisa. We may observe that in the case of this painting an extra allowance was made.¹ The Opera, when paying for the *Pietà*, also seem to have desired another painting to adorn the altar dedicated to S. Bartholomew; and on the same day 35 lire were paid to Bazzi "on account" of this work.² It would appear, however, that the painting, through some misunderstanding, was not carried out; since the margin of the register bears the following words: "The said panel did not follow the contract that was made. The 35 lire were placed to the account of the

dodici in suso che fusi stimato valesino più ditti cholori, ma sino a ducati dodici non si gl' à a fare buono altro."

We find that it was varnished in the workshops of the Opera, and placed in position on May 4th, in a frame of gilded cypress-wood made by one *Michele di Lorenzo*, a Spanish carpenter; and a further entry in the books records that the Opera paid 12 lire 2 soldi to a Genoese painter—perhaps a valuer—*per venire a vedere el quadro del chavaliero*.

¹ ARCHIVI detti, *Debit e Credit*, 161 (477, 92) 26 Giugno, 1540: "... cinquanta lire e dodici soldi sopra e' ducati 80 per chonto di quel più montavano e' cholori de l' axuro intramarino oltra a quelli si gli era prima fatti buoni i' ne la somma de' ducati 80, che si li fa buono per chonto de la pitura lire 484 soldi 12 e lire 126 per e' cholori intramarino d' achordo chon lui questo d' ditto."

² ARCHIVI detti, *Ricordanze*, c. 122 (461. 22): "... a chonto di una taula d' altare quadra di braccia 5½ lungha e braccia 4 largha à preso a dipingere in Pisa per in duomo per l' altare di S. Bartolommeo e santo Andrea e altri tituli chon otto fighure e la Madonna e'l Bambino al naturale, al paraghone de l' altre o meglo del Soglano che sono in dita chieixa, la quale à dipingere in Pisa, e per suo paghamento à avere ducati centovinti di lire sette per ducato per pagharlli ogni 15 gorni ducati cinque sino alla somma di ducati 80 lavorando in dicta taula, e dipoi à aspetare e' resto sino a ducati 120 quando c' ara data la taula in duomo finita, chon pato che gl' axuri intramarino che vi meterà si gl' abino a paghare quel più che varanno degl' altri axuri che sono in elle taule del Soglano oltra a ditti ducati 120 d' achordo chon lui questo d'."

picture" (*la ditta taula non è seghuito l'achordo che la facesse. Mise le lire 35 a chonto del quadro*): i.e., presumably the *Pietà* before mentioned.

Another painting was, however, commissioned by the Duomo authorities for a sum of 294 lire (= 42 scudi), with an additional 74 lire for ultramarine; and the final balance owed—a sum of 30 lire 5 soldi—was paid by the authorities on July 23rd, 1542.¹ This was the *Sacrifice of Abraham*, a painting which, for force of expression and vivid colouring, will bear comparison with the best of our artist's works. It so attracted French cupidity in 1811, that, not only was a large sum paid in compensation prior to its removal to Paris, but the Imperial Government even provided a fine copy (now in the Pisa Picture Gallery) to take its place in the Duomo. Not for long, however, was it absent; for three years later the Louvre was compelled to relinquish the ill-gotten spoils of Napoleonic conquest, and the *Sacrifice of Abraham*, restored to Pisa, is certainly the most striking of the paintings in the Tribuna.² The composition recalls in certain respects the *S. Sebastian* banner, —for example, the flying figure in both paintings, —but the figure of Isaac is of far too feminine a cast, and the colour-tones of the whole are too garish

¹ ARCHIVI detti. *Ricordanze* c. 21, p. 13, (463, 24): "lire trenta e soldi 5 per resto del quadro, d' ogni altro lavoro e chonto auto chon l' Opera, d' achordo con lui." Cf. APPENDIX No. 28.

² Supino (*Op. cit.*, p. 30) states that an earlier picture of this same subject, by one Niccolò de Labrugia (who received 210 lire for the work on March 11th, 1536. ARCHIVI detti. *Debit e credit*, Azzurro B., p. lxxiii.), had formerly hung in the Duomo sacristy. Apparently it had not given satisfaction, and Bazzi's work was commissioned to supersede it.

to bear close comparison with that masterpiece. Azure is indeed applied with an unsparing hand; and, in this respect certainly, if in no other, the labourer was worthy of his hire.

We read also at this time of certain banners¹ that the Opera directed should be painted by our artist to adorn the Duomo and Campanile: one of which bore "a figure of Our Lady, the Ducal arms and a Cross." For this work he was paid 22 lire 16 soldi on August 9th, 1546.²

The accounts of the Opera testify further to numerous cash advances obtained by Bazzi³ from October 31st, 1544, to January 27th, 1545, which seem to have been finally settled by the artist abandoning all claim to a canvas representing *Christ bearing His Cross*, held as security by the

¹ As to the use made of these banners, cf. Heywood, *Palio and Ponte cit.*, p. 14.

² ARCHIVI detti. *Ricordanze*, c. 25, p. 13^v (467, 28).

³ ARCHIVI detti. *Ricordanze*, cit. ad annum, c. 55^v (465, 26).

"A dì 31 d'otobre (1544 st. pis.) *Maestro Ganantonio di Iacopo Tissoni da Versè* pittore de' dare lire dieci prestatoli chontanti, e a' lasato i' ne l'opera per sichurtà un quadro di braccia 1½ in circha duv' è dipinto nostro Signore cho' la chroce in chollo in tela . . . L. 10.

E a dì 6 di novembre ducato uno d' oro portò lui chontanti chome di sopra . . . L. 7, 10

E a dì 27 di genaio lire sette soldi 10 portò chontanti in uno ducato d' oro, l' à dati Francesco e Paulo . . . L. 7, 10

E a dì ditto lire quatro soldi 18 per lui a Mariano di Leonardo chontanti per sua chomisione, e ci liberò per tutti e' sopraditti ducati el ditto quadro d' achordo, chon lui . . . L. 4, 18

L. 29, 18

Nota chome *maestro Ganantonio* ci lasò per e' ditti ducati el ditto quadro e s' è chonceduto a un amicho per ditto prego, però si cancella dita partita."

authorities. This is not all, for the entries carry our knowledge one stage farther, and we learn that this picture was sold to a friend (*amico*); since when it is lost to our view, unless the tender, almost effeminate, work still preserved in the Gallery at Lucca (Room I., No. 12) be the painting in question.¹

In 1542² Bazzi commenced, for the little church of S. Maria della Spina, the large painting now in the Pinacoteca at Pisa (Room VII., No. 28). For this canvas he was paid 526 lire 10 soldi in all; but differences would appear to have arisen between the parties, and the last entry in the accounts³ records that Bazzi "held himself ill paid" (*tenevasi mal pagato*). This composition represents *The Madonna and Child with SS. John, Sebastian, and Joseph* standing, while *SS. Mary Magdalen and Catherine of Alexandria* kneel below. Frizzoni⁴

¹ A small painting executed for the Sacristy of the Certosa di Calci at Pisa (now in the National Gallery, London, No. 1144)—a *Madonna and Child enthroned with SS. Peter, Clare, and a kneeling Carthusian*, (from the Rosini Collection) seems to belong to this period. Cf. Giovanni Rosini, *Storia della Pittura Italiana Esposto coi Monumenti*. (Pisa: Niccolò Capurro, 1838), vol. i., *Introduction*, p. 28.

² ARCHIVIO detto. ARCHIVIO DEGLI SPEDALI RIUNITI. S. MARIA DELLA SPINA. *Entrata ed Uscita dal 1542*, vol. 1761, p. 10. An entry, dated November 7th, 1542, records the sum of 10 lire given to a certain *ap^{ro}. Giacomo* for 11 braccia of wide cloth *per dipingere la tavola di fa il Soddoma and cinquanta lire to Andrea legnaiuolo per fare il telaio a ditta*.

It would seem that the word *tavola* was loosely used to describe an altarpiece, irrespective of the material upon which it was painted.

There is another entry on one of the early pages of vol. 1761 (unnumbered), on October 31st, 1542, of 15 lire to Sodoma *on account by M^o. Antonio da Chamaffei*. Cf. also Leopoldo Tanfani, *Della Chiesa di S. Maria del Pontenovo* (Pisa: Nistri. 1871), pp. 114, 115, 217-18 (Doc. xxx. xxxi.)

³ See APPENDIX No. 29.

⁴ Frizzoni, *Op. cit.*, p. 177.

suggests that, since S. Joseph wears no halo, his figure may also be a portrait of the painter himself.

The name of a pupil, not mentioned elsewhere, now appears for the first time in these records,¹ one Giovanni Maria Tucci, of Piombino. He is little more than a name, though Milanesi² tells us that for 18 gold ducats he painted a *Madonna and Child with SS. Catherine of Alexandria, Augustine, Sebastian and a sainted nun* (probably *S. Catherine of Siena*), ordered by the sisters of the Convent of S. Catherine at Radicondoli. This artist may, however, be responsible for some of the inferior paintings attributed to his master's latest period. The large altar-piece in the choir of the principal church of Tucci's native town, Piombino, is perhaps also his work. It represents the *Trinity*. *God the Father*, wearing a Papal tiara and surrounded by saints and cherubs supports the *Saviour* on the Cross. Though a very poor work, a strong reminiscence of Bazzi's influence and feeling is perceptible; and it might well have been executed by a mediocre pupil.

Vasari states that from Pisa our artist went to Lucca, where he painted for the Olivetans,—the Order who had first befriended him,—a *Madonna* on the dormitory staircase of the Convent of S. Ponziano. This convent, long suppressed, the buildings destroyed, and the name transferred to another community in a different quarter of the

¹ ARCHIVIO detto. A.S.R., S.M.D.S., vol. 1762, p. 6: "*E a dì 20 ditto* (Feb. 1543) *L. vintiquattro s. dieci date a giamaria alievo del Soddoma per mettere nero al nostro adornamento.*"

² Vasari, *Op. cit.*, *Commentary*, p. 415.

town,—no trace of the Madonna remains. But a painting of *Christ bearing His Cross* is still to be seen in the Lucca Gallery, which, as we have suggested earlier,¹ was perhaps the guerdon held by the commissioners of the Opera del Duomo.

That Vasari's chronology may be again at fault as regards this visit is not unlikely, but we have no longer any authoritative dates to guide us, save a letter addressed by Pietro Aretino from Venice to *Sodona*. The letter displays such amiable feelings and expressions of regard, honourable both to the writer and to the recipient, that transcription *in extenso* will not seem out of place. For a moment drawing aside the veil of reserve, it shows how strong and enduring must have been the tie existing between these two severely judged characters; since, after a lapse of more than thirty years, sentiment could inspire from a notoriously cruel pen such an utterance, addressed to an early friend, whom, probably, during that interval, he had rarely, if ever, met.

TO SODONA (*sic*).

I in opening the letter that you have sent to me, and reading your name beside my own, felt even to my vitals, as if we were embracing each other in real fact with that cordial loving affection, with which we used to embrace when in Rome and at the house of Agostino Chigi, with so much delight, that we should have been tormented had any said that we were even one hour apart. But in the revolutions of life men wander so much, for which reason this man and that man, these and those, one and another, are transported by chances to live in other places that they never thought of seeing. That is the case with

¹ Cf. p. 233.

my cavalier, a thousand times dear to me, a thousand times honoured, a thousand times gallant. Be certain that you have never faded from my memory, that there in fact you will never die, but ever become young again, as you would wish, in order that I might make us both very young again. But even on this head I say that, even though we were grown old in years, are not our thoughts ever young? What has one to do with the worth of wealth if it is of no other use than to consume the soul of him who possesses it with the misery of anxious thought, so that he enjoys it the less the more he accumulates it? I myself have spent in this city an amount of treasure that even a Prince who found it would seem to have enough. And if any one justly reproves me it pleases me the more to be thought a liberal soul, inasmuch as that is not the reputation, that I hope to leave of myself to the ages that will come after us. Truly we shall live out the term of life fixed by God; thanking Him in the meantime for His mercy in preserving one in life. Whilst so many of our acquaintances are below ground, you have not given up your brush, nor I my pen. Since we have become famous in the arts of painting and writing, Christ may even grant that we may meet again also one day; for which I implore His Goodness that it may be soon. This juncture we await the fortune of the cards. But if it falls out that you do go, as you tell me, to Piombino, kiss his lordship's hand for me.

We may notice that the letter is dated *August 1545*, and speaks of another visit to Piombino planned by Bazzi. Whether this event ever actually occurred we do not know; for the darkness of mute records closes round our painter once more,¹

¹ Tradition places one picture at least during these years: an injured and blackened *Way of the Cross*, preserved in the Sacristy of the church of S. Giacomo in Siena (*Contrada della Torre*). A poor work and of

until the night of *February 14th—15th, 1549*; when a letter¹ (dated the 15th), written by Alessandro Buoninsegni to his brother Bernardino (then Ambassador at Naples), mentions casually, among other items of general import—“*Il Cavaliere Sodoma questa notte si è morto.*”

Thus closes the career of this much abused man; yet it should be reiterated once again that no tangible support obtains, for the oft-repeated allegations with respect to years of want, and death in a Public Hospital. It was during his absence at Pisa that his only daughter married his pupil Riccio, with the substantial dowry of 100 florins: an amount which—corresponding as it does with the marriage portions of his own mother and sister, and with those of the Spanzotto family—would tend rather to class him among the well-to-do citizens of his day. From this fact, and from the Inventory of goods, chattels, and property, to which his wife took out Letters of Administration,² *made on the very day of Bazzi's decease*; and further, from the letter written by Niccolò Trappolini to Alessandro

very inferior merit, it is undoubtedly by Bazzi himself, and not, as the authorities of the Exhibition of Sacred Art in Siena, 1904, have erroneously chosen to call it, “*after him*” (*maniera del Sodoma*).

¹ ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI SIENA. Filza 35 delle *Lettere*, 2447-9. *Lettere agli Ambasciatori scritte da particolari persone*, 1547-8.

² ARCH. NOT. PROV. SIENA. *Rogiti di Ser Luca di Mariano Salvini d'Asciano*. No. 2386, Rep. A, Busta 941. Cf. APPENDIX No. 31.

For want of evidence to the contrary, the inference to be drawn from this document would be that *he had died in his own house*. It is worth noting from the same source of evidence that he is distinctly designated as “*Johannes Antonius Sodone*.” Mention is also made of a picture of *Christ appearing to His Mother after His Resurrection*, which may be identified in the work now belonging to the Contessa Zucchini Solimei at Bologna.

Corvini (published both by Bottari¹ in the *Lettere Pittoriche* and Francesco Turchi in the *Lettere Facete*), we may safely conclude that his last days were not beset by want. So that Vasari's gibe, *Cavaliere senza entrate* (*Cavalier without an income*), in adding yet another picturesque touch to the portrait of his victim, can only cause amusement where he would arouse contempt.

¹ Bottari, *Op. cit.*; Turchi, *Op. cit.*

CHAPTER X

SCHOLARS

IF my readers have followed me thus far, they will agree that, although the impress left by Bazzi upon Sienese Art was deep and far-reaching—in the event of doubtful advantage to the public taste—he cannot be said to have actually formed a school of his own. His *imitators* were many, but his *scholars* were extremely few. Three of these—Vincenzo Tamagni, Matteo Balducci and Giovanni Maria Tucci—have been briefly discussed in the place they filled in their master's life. A fourth, Michel Angelo Anselmi, has also been noticed; and, although he became in time a painter of some distinction and no little local fame, it is not as Bazzi's pupil, but as Correggio's, that his name has survived to the present day. Of Giacomo Pacchiarotto and Girolamo del Pacchia, both included by Milanese in his *Commentary* on Vasari's *Life of Bazzi*, among our hero's followers, there is indeed much to be said. But since the former never, as far as can be ascertained, had any close relations with Bazzi, and the latter was at best but an able imitator, these two play no necessary part in a record of the elder painter's Life.

Nevertheless three names remain deserving at any rate some mention. Since, however, we do not

propose to write complete lives of Bazzi's pupils, we would once more refer the interested inquirer to Milanese's *Commentary* aforesaid.

Girolamo Magagni—better known from his appellation *Giomo del Sodoma*—stands first, both in order of time and of notoriety. The son of one Francesco di Mariano di Stefano Magagni, a barber, by his wife Caterina (daughter of a certain Giacomo, a sawyer), he was born in October 1507; and we have already heard how, during his master's illness in Florence, he removed a number of objects of value from the studio in Siena.

According to Vasari¹ Giomo died *young*; but since, as Milanese points out,² he made his Will on April 23rd, 1562³—with a codicil on the 26th of the same month in the following year—we must conclude, setting the date of the summons (1527) side by side with that of his death, that he could not have been less than fifty years of age at his decease in 1563. We learn furthermore that he died in May, for on the 11th of that month an inventory of his goods⁴ was taken on behalf of his sister Elisabetta. This lady married twice—first, Girolamo di Giovanni of Como, and secondly, Niccolò di Lorenzo Bonelli,⁵ both armourers by trade. Girolamo Magagni himself, as far as can be ascertained, died a bachelor.

¹ Vasari, *Op. cit.*, p. 399.

² Vasari, *Op. cit.*, *Commentary*, p. 409.

³ ARCH. NOT. PROV. SIENA. *Rogiti di Ser Giovanni Billo. ad annum*. He is here described as *Providus vir magister Hieronimus quondam magistri Francisci de Magagnis, vulgariter nuncupatus del Soddoma pictor de Senis, etc.*

⁴ ARCHIVIO detto. *Inventarij di Ser Baldassare Corti*, No. 848.

⁵ Cf. *ante*, p. 191.

The paintings actually known to be by Giomo are few in number, though it is probable that a great deal of the inferior work which passes under the master's name should rather be allotted to the pupil; and his share was doubtless no slight one in much of the later work that received Bazzi's finishing touches. An attractive painting of the *Madonna and Child*, with a female saint, a bishop, and an angel playing on a lute, over the first altar to the right in the little church of S. Mustiola in Siena, is perhaps the best example of Magagni's work. The small chapel at the foot of the hill, crowned by the convent of the Osservanza, near Siena, contains a fresco (now much damaged) commenced by this painter with the assistance of one Niccolò di Pietro. This work was completed by Riccio, who, in company with one Giorgio di Giovanni, had valued it on April 3rd, 1549. Aided by the same Niccolò, Giomo in 1550 also painted and gilded the organ of the chapel of the *Madonna del Voto* in the Duomo.

Lorenzo Brazzi, better known as *il Rustico*, was a fellow-student of Giomo, and, Milanesi tells us, also one of Bazzi's pupils. The son of one Cristoforo Brazzi, a builder and architect¹ from Piacenza, he was born in 1521, and from him descended the family of *Rustici* (afterwards ennobled), whilst his brother continued the line of Brazzi. We read that he was extremely ill-favoured, but of sprightly wit and humour withal: wherefore his fellows of the

¹ Milanesi MSS., P. III. 52, p. 311. Here we are told that "*Cristoforo Brazzi da Piacenza muratore ed architetto muore di ferite in Siena nel 1545.*"

Accademia dei Rozzi gave him the additional nickname of *Cirloso*. According to Mancini,¹ *il Rustico* was thrown into prison for devising the following political practical joke. Being commissioned to paint a shield of the Grand Ducal arms, he adapted hinges to the Medici balls, alleging as a reason for such a piece of mechanism that they could thus be conveniently removed should a change of government occur. In 1550 he executed certain stucco decorations in the house of Vincenzo Paccinelli,² and in 1555 some frescoes in the chapel of the Compagnia di S. Michele. We find him in the following year engaged in a lawsuit with a barber, named Bartolommeo da Asti, concerning certain paintings for the latter's shop. Two of the three vaulted ceilings of the Loggia di Mercanzia in Siena were decorated by him in fresco in 1554 and 1568 respectively; and during the last years of his life he commenced another series of ceiling paintings—a commission previously allotted to Riccio, but rejected by him—for the *Confraternità della SS. Trinità*. These works were left incomplete at his death, and, being subsequently much damaged, were repainted between 1595 and 1602 by Ventura Salimbeni. Lorenzo Brazzi died on June 10th, 1572, aged 51, and was buried in the family vault in S. Domenico, Siena.

To attempt a comprehensive history of the life and work of Bartolommeo Neroni, or Negrone (*il Riccio*), our painter's son-in-law and closest

¹ Giulio Mancini, *Ragguaglio delle Cose di Siena*. MS. Bib. Com. di Siena.

² ARCHIVIO detto. *Rogiti di Ser Alessandro Arrighetti*, Filza 14 de, Lodi. No. 98.

imitator, would overcrowd our already well-filled space. His name and connection with our hero has already justified his frequent appearance in our pages,¹ leaving but little more to add. Documents referring to his private affairs tell us that his father's name was Sebastiano; and Milanese² suggests, since allusion is made in a letter by him dated 1540 to certain relatives in Florence, that he was by birth a native of that city. Certain it is, however, that the greater portion of his life was spent in or near Siena. A number of Riccio's paintings are recorded in the *Commentary*³—among them a portrait of Charles V.'s viceroy in Siena, Don Diego de Mendoza; and he would seem to have been, if not actually a genius, at any rate a man of versatile talent, employed to design or to advise in a multifarious variety of artistic and kindred matters. Early in life he painted in miniature a set of twenty-one *Scenes from the Life of S. Benedict*, copied from his father-in-law's celebrated Monte Oliveto Acts, in four Missals for the Olivetan Convent of Final Pia (now suppressed), which are preserved in the Palazzo Bianco, Genoa. A portrait of the artist himself, a lad with long fair locks, included in this series, is evidence of his youth at the time of their execution. Vasari tells us of designs for church-furniture in great

¹ See above, pp. 223 and 224 and notes, and p. 237.

² Vasari, *Op. cit.*, *Commentary*, p. 412. The same writer in his MS. Notes, P. III. 50, p. 140, informs us that he was attacked by his brother Francesco in 1534 and severely wounded: nel 1534 "*M^o Bartolomeo de Riccis (il Riccio) fu assalito una sera da un tal Francesco del Riccio suo fratello e ferito nel vita.*"

³ Vasari, *Op. cit.*, *Commentary*, pp. 412-15.

variety,¹ architectural works, triumphal arches (in 1541), and theatrical scenery,² besides plans and elevations for the fortifications of Siena and its smaller subject towns and castles (*castelli*).

Bartolommeo Neroni's paintings, especially those of sacred subjects, are mostly a somewhat feeble echo of his teacher's ideas, and his fame rests principally on the design and execution of the marble pulpit-stairs, and the magnificent choir-stalls³ and sedilia in the Duomo of Siena. Riccio resided for some time in Lucca—indeed, Vasari states that he was living there at the date of the first publication of Bazzi's Life.⁴ After the death of Bazzi's daughter Faustina, he took as his second wife Giuditta, daughter of Giovanni di Giuliano Giovanangelo.⁵ The gout, a malady from which he appears to have suffered severely in his later years, carried him off in June 1571, after he had executed a Will on the 14th of the same month,⁶ whereby he bequeathed all his property to the two daughters of his first marriage.

Riccio is the last link in the chain of Bazzi's

¹ Magnificent examples of these, executed in oak, walnut and other choice woods, are still to be seen in many of the Siennese churches.

² We are told by Milanese that on the occasion of the visit of Duke Cosimo di Medici to take possession of the city, Riccio designed a proscenium for the performance of "*l'Ortensio*," a comedy by Alessandro Piccolomini, and performed by the members of the *Società degli Intronati*. This proscenium was painted by Andrea Andreani of Mantua.

³ We have seen above (p. 224, note ³) how one of his daughters tried to recover 170 ducats for a design for the principal stall.

⁴ Vasari, *Op. cit.*, p. 399.

⁵ Cf. p. 222, note ².

⁶ Milanese MS., P. III. 49, p. 427^b, makes reference to this Testament thus:—*Ser Flaminio Micheli* No. 3377. 1571, 14 Giugno. In spite of a most careful search, however, it cannot now be traced.

scholars in the narrower sense of the term: the chain that connects two centuries of Art. He is the last exponent of the restrained style and methods of the Quattro- and early Cinque-cento, whose merits, so soon forgotten by the later Eclectic Sienese, were remembered only where a weakness could be copied, a defect exaggerated, or a mannerism perpetuated, to the untold detriment of the culture and taste of subsequent centuries.¹

In summing up the life of so remarkable a man and artist as Giovanni Antonio Bazzi, we must first clear our thoughts of all prejudice raised by writers like Vasari, who, by the art of "*suggestio falsi*" and "*suppressio veri*," have presented us with a distorted likeness; and we must equally set aside all weakly sentiment prompted by the effect upon us of two or three of his most celebrated paintings. Between the Scylla of the one and the Charybdis of the other, to strike a happy mean is no easy task. This, nevertheless, is what we have here attempted; placing in a clear light all the ascertained facts that tell both ways, and leaving the reader to judge and draw his own final conclusions on the complex nature of this exceptional character.

We are cognizant of the many pitfalls that Art-Historians of an earlier age have stepped into when venturing upon conclusions with regard to the private life of painters, drawn from the visages

¹ Cf. Walther Rothes, *Die Bluthezeit der Sienesischen Malerei*, Strassburg: J. H. Heilz & Mundel. 1904.

of their Madonnas and Saints. Yet, in laying bare the personality of Giovanni Antonio Bazzi, displayed in his existing works, *one* very striking feature intrudes itself upon our notice ; a feature which assists us in no small degree to explain his character as a man. The subject of our inquiry, from all time past, has been pilloried as an example of *Vice Personified*. But what does his work reveal ? Is it, indeed, as Vasari freely asserts, full of " lewd " suggestion ?—Not at all. On the contrary, when opportunity and temptation are almost forced upon him, how steadfastly does he avoid all semblance of vicious intent ! how constantly does he keep before our eyes the ideal purity of maidenhood ! That he worshipped beauty of a sensuous type,—and especially so in the human form,—is very evident, since he paints the nude with a lover's brush. But where, may we ask, in the entire cycle of his nude types, is there one that can foster licentious thought ? His *Eve* in the Siena Academy is the most modest representation of the Mother of All Flesh in the whole range of Art ; his drawings for a *Leda* suggest beauty alone, illustrating a legend and nothing else. All his classical personages are instinct with the same sense of restrained loveliness. Where could a young man of exceptionally imaginative temperament, in the fulness of life and vigour, have had a stronger temptation to indulge, were he so minded, in lascivious motive, than in the famous fresco at Monte Oliveto ? Yet even there the graceful and fascinating courtezans appeal to the intellectual rather than to the material sense. It is of no consequence whether, as tradition



Painted by Michelangelo B. D. L. S. S. S. S.

Alinari photo

*Head of Eve.
"The Descent into Limbo"—Siena Academy.*



Photo: Monteboni.

HEAD OF LEDA.
DRAWING.
CASTELLO SFORZESCO, MILAN.

tells us, these fair damsels were originally designed nude or not. It is in the grace of their bearing and the *naïveté* of their personal charm that temptation to the monks would have had to reside, rather than in any evil suggestion intentionally aroused by the artist himself.

Let us take even a stronger instance. When the painter, in the zenith of his artistic and social fame, and in the prime of his manhood, is summoned by one of the wealthiest and most dissolute men of the time,—living in, maybe, the most dissolute age of history—the ornament and envy of, perhaps, the most dissolute court in Europe,—to decorate his bedchamber, a subject—*The Marriage of Alexander and Roxana*—is chosen, exalted and beautiful indeed, but capable of the most suggestive treatment. How does our artist, amid surroundings and among companions of a character sufficient to turn the head of the purest-minded (as it undoubtedly did turn that of the “Divine Raphael”), treat this opportunity? Does he indulge in the pruriency of Giulio Romano and other scholars of the Prince of Painters?¹ Nothing of the kind. He embroiders on Lucian’s canvas one of the purest and most idyllic conceptions of the Renaissance: a composition that, in an age where Classical Myth and Ecclesiastical Symbolism were so frequently intermingled, might truly almost pass for an illustration of the Mystic Marriage described in the Canticles, and applied by the Church to Herself.

¹ As an example the reader need only be referred to the work of these artists in the Reception-rooms of the Corte Reale and the Palazzo del Tè at Mantua.

Bazzi's composition may often be faulty, whilst time and the hand of man have laid a destructive stigma upon this great work; but where in pictorial art can there be found a lovelier and, at the same time, more ideal type of the Classic "*Pudicitia*" than Roxana? The entire composition is fraught with graceful fancy and penetrating charm, yet not a breath of course suggestion sullies our thoughts; whilst the religion of ideal beauty overwhelms the senses, and no disturbing shadows arise to break the spell. Well might Rosini¹ exclaim, "If Raphael had only chosen Bazzi as his helper instead of Giulio Pippi, what might he not have become?"

Bazzi's *Madonnas* perhaps tell us little more than that they are lovely. They exhibit scarcely anything of that appearance of aloofness from ordinary life—above and beyond—so characteristic in the Art of his predecessors; nor, likewise, do they present us with the handsome peasant or fascinating courtesan type adopted by his successors. His ideal was clearly a noble one; his figures of either sex and of all ages are fine, well chosen, and generally carefully characterized. The special point about them during his best period is, that they breathe a sentiment of natural ease, as though the artist had obtained from his model all he desired to express *at once*; without effort or strain to secure effects. There is an unaffected simplicity in their mien; no second thought or mental reservation;—so much so, indeed, that all that they tell us about themselves may be summed

¹ Rosini, *Op. cit.*, vol. v. p. 48.



The Art Photogravure Co. Ltd. London.

Anderson, photo.

*Head of the Madonna,
Casino Borghese - Rome.*

up in two words, *Purity* and *Refinement*. In this gift lies the artist's supreme charm.

From the foregoing conclusions, indeed, we may surely take it for granted that Bazzi's was a character of impulse and passion, upon which he—perhaps too often—acted without thought for the consequences. The spontaneity of his technique, leading to the careless composition and slovenly execution of so much of his work—faults which were, and remain yet, the despair of the Art-critic, who knows not how to hold the balance true between the painter's merits and defects—was paralleled, no doubt, in his daily life by acts of similar thoughtlessness. All the traditions and tales about him, good and bad alike, show him to us as the plaything of chance and sudden emotion: a true child of his age, born when the Renaissance had reached its zenith, and dying with its knell sounding in his ears. His age failed in comprehension of his "*artistic temperament*"; and whilst heaping praise upon his vagaries, sought revenge by condemning his morals. Men like Vasari, with their sense of proportion obscured in the exclusive admiration of giants such as Michelangelo, and with their critical judgment wrapped in the æsthetic cereclothes of the Schools of Art founded by that great leader and by Raphael, could not justify to themselves the *raison d'être* of a man who—although willing to be influenced by splendid example—yet rebelled at confinement within the straitened lines and imitative tendencies of any *cœnaculum* whatever. It is instructive to follow the evolution of those artists who, commencing under his instruction,

drifted away into other schools. Instances of such are Daniele da Volterra and Michel Angelo Anselmi. In both these painters, incipient grace—almost attaining to originality—imbibed from their earlier master, is too soon submerged in eclectic mannerism. The first masquerades in the grand style of Michelangelo; the latter imitates tolerably well the prettiness, exaggerated tenderness and washed-out colouring of Correggio's Parmesan period. The result in both cases is a verdict of mediocrity.

Hence Bazzi in his day could only win for himself the well-deserved commendation of those capable of discernment,—the few who could see the light of genius shining through his errors; and modern taste has done justice at last in restoring him to that place among the painters of the Renaissance, which he so fully deserves.

No worse fate could befall our hero than to be branded with the stamp of precursorship of the "Eclectic School"; and if this essay has succeeded even remotely in "giving the Devil his due," the seed sown in these pages will not have fallen on barren ground.

APPENDIX

NOTE ON THE VARIOUS PORTRAITS OF BAZZI BY HIMSELF AND OTHERS.

THERE are a large number of portrait-heads, chiefly introduced into frescoes and compositions of large dimensions, which tradition more or less authenticated states to be presentments of Bazzi. With one exception they are all painted by the artist himself. A comparison between them not only raises a number of interesting questions, but tends to show that many of these so-called portraits cannot possibly be the person whom they are said to represent.

The single portrait which must ever form the basis of any inquiry on this point is the youthful likeness at Monte Oliveto, painted in May 1506, and recorded by Vasari,¹ This has been described so often, and is so well authenticated, that we may take it for granted that it is a speaking effigy of our painter as he then stood before the world. Although the features are sufficiently striking and marked to provide us with indications whereby we should identify the likeness elsewhere, it is nevertheless no easy matter to recognize these lineaments in the portrait coming next in order of date, the authority for which is no less important a critic than Morelli himself. The figure of a man standing beside Raphael in the large fresco

¹ Vasari, *Op. cit.*, p. 383. Padre de Angelis, as we have said (*supra*, p. 69 note ¹) in his *Ragguaglio*, etc., sees a portrait of Bazzi as a youth in the angel of the Leccetto *Nativity* (Siena Academy, Room XI. No. 512.)

of the *School of Athens* at the Vatican, was long supposed to be the portrait of *Perugino*, and maudlin sentiment ran riot over the alleged attachment between Master and Pupil, that secured its introduction into this important composition. Morelli, however, asserted that the personage represented was *Bazzi*, and again a flood of more or less vapid talk burst forth : this time concerning the friendship—not improbable, indeed, even on other grounds—existing between these two artists.

We hear, likewise, of two more actual portraits, both recorded by Vasari ; neither of which have come down to us. These were introduced into the frescoes of *Christ at the Column* (in the Cloister of S. Francesco), and the *Nativity* (over the Porta Pispini) respectively. In the first he was represented, we are told, beardless, but with flowing hair ;¹ and in the other as an old man with a beard.² It is most unfortunate that both of these portraits have disappeared ; since from them we might have derived the necessary landmarks to assist us in identifying the other traditional likenesses. The chief of these are as follows :—

The Soldier in Armour. *Descent from the Cross*.
(Siena Academy.) No. 413.

S. Roch in the group on the reverse face of the
S. Sebastian Banner. (Uffizi.)

The shepherd looking on between two trees.
Adoration of the Magi. (S. Agostino, Siena.)

One of the sleeping soldiers in the *Resurrection*.
(Pal. Pubblico, Siena.)

¹ Vasari, *Op. cit.*, p. 388.

² Vasari, *Op. cit.*, p. 396. It is perhaps worth noting that in an edition of Vasari which appeared in 1811, with portraits of the painters attached to each *Life*, that given to Bazzi is of an elderly man with a beard, and resembles no likeness of him at present existing. At that date the lower part of the Porta Pispini fresco was still tolerably preserved ; and it is just possible that this engraving may have been taken from the lost portrait.



MONTE OLIVETO MAGGIORE.
Photo: Alinari.



DRAWING.
UFFIZI, FLORENCE.
Photo: E. Houghton.



UFFIZI, FLORENCE.
Photo: Alinari.



PITTI, FLORENCE.
Photo: Brogi.

PORTRAITS OF GIOVANNI ANTONIO BAZZI BY HIMSELF.



PORTRAIT OF A BEARDED MAN.
PASTEL.
BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON.
Photo: Braun Clement & Cie.



PORTRAIT OF
A MILANESE NOBLEMAN (?).
DRAWING.
ALBERTINA, VIENNA.

OTHER PORTRAITS BY THE SAME MASTER.

To this number Frizzoni would add the S. Joseph in the large painting (*Madonna and Saints*) in the Pisa Gallery.¹

Whether these figures be one and all really portraits is a matter of great uncertainty. It is probable, though, that the very bold masculine type, which recurs so frequently in his work—notably the figure in the foreground of the *Resurrection* at Naples—is, if not an exact likeness of himself, at least fashioned after his own cast of countenance.

Besides these we have two oil paintings in Florence in the Uffizi and Pitti Galleries respectively, both said to be likenesses of the painter. The finer of the two, preserved in the Collection of Artists' Portraits (No. 282) in the Uffizi, represents a powerfully built, handsome man in early middle life. Although we are pertinently assured that Bazzi himself stands before us, it is not easy to trace here the features of the gallant of Monte Oliveto days.²

The other portrait, in the Pitti Gallery (Room XI.), in spite of the high thin nose, which at first sight seems so unlike our painter, offers on closer inspection a much greater resemblance to him as he may have looked later on,—a sadder and perhaps a wiser man. This painting is by no means so fine, and the panel appears to have been lengthened at the bottom and repainted by a later hand.³

A small picture with *Gio. Ant. Razzi, P.S.*, written upon the face, and *Razzi detto il Sodoma—Pittore Senese Giovanni Antonio di Jacomo* on the back, is to be found

¹ See above, p. 233.

² Romagnoli, building on the Vergelle tradition, makes out that the scenery behind actually represents Vergelle with the Casa Savini in the distance, in which house he states that Bazzi was born.

³ Della Valle (*Op. cit.*, p. 255) speaks of two portraits in the Florence collection as follows:—"Finalmente in galleria a Firenze nella Stanza de' ritratti, due ve n'ha di Gio. Antonio, dipinti da lui medesimo il primo lo dimostra in età, di 45 in 50 anni, e sotto si legge: *Gio Antonio da Vercelli*. Nella seconda stanza ritrasse se stesso di maggiore età, e in un' aria di un vecchio robusto, e pieno di energia. In esso dichiara l' onore, a cui fu assunto dai Sanesi, con ammetterlo alla Cittadinanza,"—but it is not easy to identify them with those in the text.

among the pictures left by the late Sig. Giuseppe Porri to the Communal Library at Siena. A very poor work, it might, however, be a copy of a lost original, and as such is of some value.

There is, besides, an unfinished sketch of a man (Case 344, No. 1934) in the Uffizi Collection, which, from its likeness to our foundation portrait, is almost certainly a real effigy of Bazzi. It is also not improbable that the fine Pastel *Portrait of a Man* in the British Museum (No. 96) (variously attributed to Timoteo Viti and to Raphael, but given to our painter by Morelli) may also be not only *by* him but *of* him.

NOTE ON THE CURRENCY.

THE task of reconciling the value of money paid to Bazzi and others for their work during the period of which we are writing, either with its present value, or contemporary currencies during the different epochs spoken of, is practically impossible. The value of the current coins, whether florin, ducat, or scudo, varied so constantly and so widely from time to time and place to place, that the difficulty of fixing any standard is greatly increased. A few notes, however, may aid the student in forming some idea of the sums of money dealt with.

In the Milanesi MSS. (Bib. Com. Siena, P. III. 53, p. 157) we find the following : *Scritture Consistoriali, La Balia*, Filza 47.

	1529.	Scudo d'oro di Sole—	Lire 12.10 soldi,	
		also in same year . . .	11.	
	1530.	Scudo d'oro di Sole . . .	14.	
	1529.	„ Senese . . .	7.	
(April)	1530.	„ d'oro di Sole . . .	14.	
(February)	1529.	„ „ „ . . .	11.15	„
(„ 17)	1529.	„ „ „ . . .	12.7	„
(„ 2)	1529.	„ „ „ . . .	11.	

Again, the *Milanese florin*, as we read of it in the Vercellese documents, was worth 3 *lire* and 4 *soldi terzuoli*.

In Siena the *ducat* seems to have been generally reckoned at 7 *lire*, the *florin* at 4.

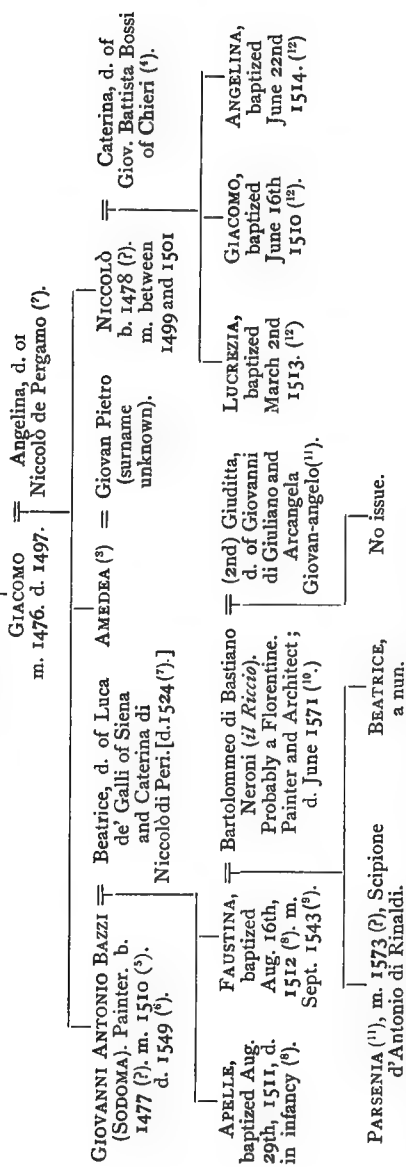
The following note is also of interest in this connection :—

“The *florin* was first coined in Florence in 1252 in memory of the victories of that year; it weighed 72 grains of gold. It was imitated in Venice under the name of *Ducat*, later *Zecchino*; and in Rome as *Ducato Papale*. At first it was worth 3·02 *libre*, but as gold gradually appreciated, its value, as measured by silver, increased, and in Perugia it went up to 4½ to 5 *libre*. Early in the 15th century the florin was reduced to 69 grains. Thus roughly the florin was equal to 11/. Twelve denari went to a soldo, and 20 soldi went to a *libra*; thus the denaro as measured by gold standard was worth from one-sixth to one-ninth of a penny.”—*Chronicles of the City of Perugia, 1492—1503*, by Francesco Matarazzo. Translated by Edward Strachan Morgan. London, J. M. Dent & Co., 1905, p. 66, note.

No. 1.

PEDIGREE OF THE FAMILY OF DE BAZIS.

DRAWN FROM THE COMMUNAL ARCHIVES AT VERCELLI AND AT SIENA, AND FROM THE MS. NOTES OF
SIGNOR G. MILANESI, COMMUNAL LIBRARY, SIENA.

ANTONIO DE BAZIS ⁽¹⁾.

¹ Already dead in 1494. ARCH. CIV. DI VERCELLI. *Enrico de Balbis*, Not. 9. fol. 61 e Prot. 3. fol. 2.

² ARCH. *delto*. *Will of Giacomo de Balbis*. Not. 9. fol. 307.

³ ARCH. *delto*. *Will of Giacomo de Balbis*. 1497, 13 Agosto. *Enrico de Balbis*, Prot. N. 4, fol. 233.

⁴ ARCH. *delto*. 1499, 18 Marzo. *Guiglielmo de Donati*. L. 6, Not. 25, fol. 55. In this document Giovanni Battista by mistake is called

Bartolomeo. 1501, 19 Giugno. *Enrico de Balbis*. Prot. B. 4, Not. 3, fol. 146.

⁵ ARCH. Not. Prov. di SIENA. *Atti Anteriori al 1565*. *Rogiti di Ser Alessandro di Niccolò della Grammatica*. Filza dal 1507-15. Rep. A.

Busta 68. 1510, 26 di Ottobre.

⁶ ARCH. DI STATO DI SIENA. *Lettera di Ser Alessandro Buoninsegni a Bernardino suo Fratello*. Files 2447-9, 1547-8.

⁷ ARCH. *delto*. *Rogiti di Ser Ventura di Cionne Cugini da Lucignano di Val di Chiana*. Rep. A. Busta 604. Filza dal 1523-27, No. 48.

⁸ ARCH. DI STATO DI SIENA. *Libro dei Battesanti ad annum*.

⁹ ARCH. *delto*. 1542-4. *Contratti ad annum*, p. 114. 1543, Settembre.

¹⁰ In the MS. notes of G. Milanese, P. 111-49. P. 477, reference is given to his Testament thus:—"ARCH. DI CONTRATTI DI SIENA. *Ser*

Flaminio Micheli. *Sirani*. No. 3377. 1571, 14 Giugno. We have been unable to trace this document, in spite of a most careful search.

¹¹ See MS. notes of G. Milanese, P. 111, 51, p. 352. *Rogiti di Ser Fabio Lomani*. Prot. V. C. 292.

¹² These dates are taken from the Registers of S. Maria Maggiore in Vercelli.

No. 2.

ARTICLES OF APPRENTICESHIP OF G. A. BAZZI.

ARCHIVIO CIVICO DI VERCELLI. *Notulario di Guidetto de Pellipariis*, n. 18, fogl. 592.

MCCCCLXXXX. die xxviii. mensis novembris hora mediarum terciarum vel circha actum Vercellis in vicinia sancti Juliani in appoteca infrascripti magistri francexii borduarii¹ presentibus no. francexio de Ticionibus f.q.d. Augustini et francexio bordererio et bernardino filio qd. mafeoli dorerii testibus.

Ibique magister Jacobus de bazis de blandrate caligarius vercellarum possuit et firmavit *Johanem Antonium* eius filium presentem et se firmantem ad standum cum magistro *Martino de Spanzotis* de Casale pinctore pro annis septem proxime venturis incipientibus in festo natiuitatis d. nri. Jesu Christi proxime futuro usque ad quod empus idem m. Jacobus promisit quod stabit et famularit promisit secum per dictum tempus et laborare et quod erit legalis ac fidelis et non comitet dolum nec fraudem et ea que pervenient ad manus consignabit et faciet ea omnia que facere tenetur bonus et legalis ac fidelis famulus et cetera et idem magister Martinus promisit tradere artem pinctorie toto suo posse et vidriatarum et aliarum que sit (*scit*) idem m. Martinus. Item convenit et promisit idem m. Jacobus dicto m. Martino presenti et acceptanti dare et traddere pro expensis tantum premisorum annorum florenos quinquaginta mediolani videlicet in principio quorumlibet septem annorum septimam partem ita quod in ipso principio teneatur idem m. Jacobus facere suis sumptibus unam vestem in bona longitudine, item duos diploydos et tria paria caligarum semel tantum in ipso principio, reliqua disiuncta faciat per

¹ Bruzza reads *bordererii*. The above is the reading of Faccio, supported by Avv. Francesco Marocchino, keeper of the Archives at Vercelli. Cf. Faccio, *Op. cit.*, p. 217.

dictum tempus idem magister Martinus. Item quod idem magister Jacobus toto tempore dictorum septem annorum det sotulares, camisias et panixellos et aliam totam blanchariam ipsius Jacobi expensis. Item quod idem m. Martinus teneatur dare alimento cibi et potus et habitationem condecensam iuxta condicionem . . . que omnia promississent attendere et hinc inde restituere dampna et expensas ubi non attenderint de quibus expensis credantur iuri *etiam* (?) lite non contestata et possint in solidum ubique arrestari et incarcerari. . . . Constituentes procuratores *probatos* (?) in forma Camere renunciando beneficio minoris etatis jurantes omnes tres precipientes etc.

No. 3.

THE WILL OF GIACOMO DI BAZZI.

ARCH. detto. *Protocollo di Enrico de Balbis*, n. 4, fogl. 231^b

In nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi amen. Anno a nativitate eiusdem currente millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo septimo inditione decima quinta sive ultima die tertia decima mensis augusti.

Actum Vercellis in vicinia Ecclesiae Sanctae Mariae Majoris in domo habitationis infrascripti testatoris presentibus spectabilibus iuris utriusque doctore domino Mathia de Scazoxiis de Blandrate nobili Johanne Andrea de Guidalardis de Verono Francisco de Pichono Marco de Lignana caligario Petro Bocio de Blandrate bechario Bernardino de Novaria filio magistri Dominici caligarii Jacobo de Camarano de Blandrate Gabrielle de Roaxio Filippo filio magistri Francisci de Rodobio et magistro Antonio de Blandrate marescalco omnibus habitantibus Vercellarum testibus ad infrascripta per infrascriptum testatorem meque notarium infrascriptum vocatis rogatis ac notis.

Magister *Jacobus de Bazis* de Blandrate caligarius et habitator Vercellarum sanus dei gratia mente et intellectu

licet corpus suum quandam patiatur infirmitatem . . . sepeliri ordinavit in cemeterio ecclesie S. Marie majoris . . . instituit heredem particularem *Angelinam* ejus uxorem in florenos centum mediolani pro dote sua cui legavit ultra dictos florenos centum ejus vestes baltea et alia bona mobilia tam lanea quam linea a suo portare et cappas duas et quam *Angelinam* ejus uxorem constituit dominam et usufructuariam quorumcumque bonorum suorum mobilium et immobilium ipsa ducente vitam vidualem et honestam ac timorate cum infrascriptis ejus filiis et quam liberavit a ratione reddenda et ab inventarii confectione ipsam omologistam constituens si dicta Angelina non transeat ad secunda vota. Et casu quo transeat ad secunda vota tunc et eo casu habeat dictam ejus dotem cum bonis suprascriptis et non ultra. Item legavit societate disciplinatorum Sancte Katerine ducatum unum dando semel tantum. Instituit heredem particularem *Amedeam* ejus filiam legitimam et naturalem in florenos centum mediol. quos dictus testator asserit dictam *Amedeam* et *Johem Petrum* ejus maritum habuisse et recepissee et ultra dictam ejus dotem in ducato uno dando et solvendo per dictos ejus filios et heredes universales. In omnibus autem bonis suis mobilibus et immobilibus instituit heredes universales *Johannem Antonium* et *Nicholam* ejus filios legitimos et naturales ipsos ore proprio nominans equalibus porcionibus quibus constituit dictam *Angelinam* ejus uxorem et matrem dictorum *Jo. Antonii* et *Nichole* curatricem et gubernatricem ita et taliter quod dicti ejus filii et heredes quicumque de bonis ipsius testatoris disponere non possint sine consensu dicte Angeline usque non fuerint etatis annorum vigintiquinque et ultra et aliter et alio modo quidquid actum fuerit per dictos ejus filios et heredes non valeat nec teneat quia ipse testator de ipsa Angelina multum confidit. Item iste testator dicit et protestat se dare debere nobili Henrioto filio nob. Justiniani de Advocatis Valdengi libra septuaginta octo imperialium. Item Paulino bechario libras viginti

quattuor imperialium. Item Jo. Petro de Arena libras decem septem et solidos duodecim. Item Marchioni de Badaloco libras novem. Item fr. Laurentio de Tomis de Palestro libras decem. Item Francisco de Pichono libras viginti tres imperialium, etc.

No. 4.

The DENUNZIA or Inventory of the Worldly Goods of GIOVANNI ANTONIO BAZZI. 1531 (?)

Dinanzi a voi cittadini sopra a fare la Lira vi si dice per me maestro *Giov. Antonio Sodoma* di Bucaturo.

E prima (ho) un orto a Fontenuova, ch' io lavoro e gli altri ricogliono.

Una casa in litigio con Niccolo de' Libri per mio abitare in Vallerozzi.

Trovomi al presente otto cavalli; soprano me son chiamati caprette et io sono un castrone a governali.

Trovomi un scimmia e un corvo che favella e lo tengo chè insegna a parlare a un asino teologo in gabbia.

Uno gufo per far paura a matti e un barbagianni. Del Locco non vi dico niente per la scimmia di sopra.

Trovomi due pavoni, due cani, due gatti, un terzuolo, uno sparviero, sei galline con diciotto pollastrine.

E due galline moresche e molti uccelli che per lo scrivere saria confusione.

Trovomi tre bestiacce cattive, che sono tre donne.

Trovomi poi da trenta figliuoli grandi, e per traino ain (*sic*). V. E.¹ permetteranno bene, che hone havere di grosso, oltre che, secondo li statuti chi ha dodoci figliuoli non è tenuto a gravezza di Comune. Per tanto a voi mi raccomando.

Bene valet,

SODOMA, SODOMA—derivatum mihi SODOMA.

¹ V. E.=Vostre Eccellenze.

Translation of the DENUNZIA.

The Inventory and Declaration of GIOVAN. ANT. BAZZI, styled
il Sodoma, Painter.

Before you citzens in making [*i.e.* drawing up] the Lira, maketh known in person Maestro Giov. Antonio Sodoma, of Bucaturo.

In the first place, I have a garden [orchard] at Fontenuova that I plant [labour] and others garner [the fruit].

A house in process [of litigation] with Niccolo de Libri for my abode in Vallerozzi.

I am possessed at the present time, of eight horses; they are surnamed kids, and I am a ram [*castrone* = "a ram"; colloquial Italian for *dolt* or *clown*] at handling them [my team].

Item: I have an ape, and a talking raven, which I keep in a cage that he may teach a theological ass to talk [dispute].

A screech-owl to scare fools with, and likewise a horned owl. Of the booby [*Locco*, colloquial Italian for an *imbecile*] I do not make further mention to you, on account of the monkey aforesaid.

I am in possession of two peacocks, two dogs, two cats, and a tassel [a kind of falcon], one sparrow-hawk, six hens with eighteen chicks.

Two guinea-fowl and many birds that to name were confusion.

I am possessed of three mischievous animals which are three women-folk.

I have besides more than thirty big children for an encumbrance: indeed it is one (*ain*). Your worships will allow that I have of them verily (*havere davvero*) a quiverful [*di grosso* = a number]; moreover that according to the Statute, he that hath twelve children is not liable to impost of the Commune.

Wherefore I commend myself to your Worships.

Fare ye well,

SODOMA, SODOMA—my style—SODOMA.

This *Denunzia* or Inventory, which does not appear in the original volume of the *Lira* Records, was first published by P. Isidoro Ugurgieri Azzolini in his *Pompe Sanese*, vol. ii. p. 356 (Pistoia, 1649). Bazzi's name is, however, entered in the Register for 1531 among the inhabitants of the district of *S. Donato a Montanini*, thus: *Messer Giovanni Antonio dipentore alias el Sodoma lire cento*. ARCH. DI STATO, SIENA, *Lib. della Lira*. N. 125, C. 84.

The *Racconto di (sic) Pitture, etc.*, compiled by Alfonso Landi in 1655, and of which two copies are preserved in the Communal Library of Siena, contains two MS. versions of this *travesty*. The compiler admits that the *Denunzia* in question is full of *lacunæ*, and that his readings are drawn, "*not from the original document,*" but from "*copies in the possession of those who at that time had skill in deciphering ancient characters.*"

Why any one should have expected to find a document of this nature among the *Lira* records is a mystery. Had Bazzi even admittedly been the author of the *skit*, he would scarcely have ventured in all seriousness to submit this figment of his brain to the authorities, without incurring the risk, not only of severe public censure, but of condign punishment as well. The composition, if genuine, is obviously intended for a *pasquinade*; and none of his contemporaries would have been so far misled as to think differently. Indeed, that latter-day authors and critics should have attached any historical value to the *Denunzia* is a matter of no little surprise.

In 1531, the date when the *Denunzia* is supposed to have been compiled, Bazzi was no longer a rollicking youth, but a staid and elderly citizen, fifty-seven years of age, married, and the father of a family. That a man with a reputation for respectability to uphold should have lent his name to such a farrago of scurrilous jocularities—witty though it be—is scarcely credible; although so many serious writers refer to the document, and assume its authenticity without question.

The inquiring student would be diverted at the ingenious attempts of Padre Della Valle, Monsignor Mancini, and other champions of our artist's character, to minimise, by means of various readings and interpretations, the force of doubtful expressions. Strong in their desire to make the best case possible for the artist, it seems never to have occurred to them that neither had they ever seen the original, nor had they made inquiries concerning the same ; nor traced Padre Ugurgieri's *authority* for printing it as a genuine production. They were, of course, in ignorance of all the valuable *data* that we have obtained since, through the researches of Padre Bruzza and others ; but even Signori Borghesi and Banchi express astonishment at not finding the *Denunzia* among the Sienese Public Archives.

If the matter is weighed dispassionately, it becomes obvious that these gentlemen could scarcely expect to find it in a Record Office ; except by chance among the old Diaries, *Memorie*, or miscellaneous papers from the muniment-room of some family ; or in the portfolios of some collector of literary curiosities, such as sometimes find their way into public collections. These two gentlemen, for all their erudition, stand convicted of lacking sadly a sense of humour. The document has, however, succeeded in deceiving most writers ; more indeed from want of thought than from intentional misrepresentation.

With Messer Giorgio's thirst for tales,—fact or fiction mattered not to him nor to his informants,—such an addition to his store of ill-natured anecdote would have proved a most gratifying stick wherewith to beat his dog.¹ The absence of all reference to this *Denunzia*, both from Vasari's great work and from all contemporary records, goes very far to prove that the *Declaration or Inventory*

¹ It is as well to observe also that the supposititious date of this composition is *contemporary* with Vasari's visit to his friend Don Miniato Pitti at S. Anna in Creta ; on which occasion he not only heard, but endeavoured to collect all the facts he could obtain concerning Bazzi.

of Giovanni Antonio Bazzi, styled "il Sodoma," Painter, had not at that time the credit of a public document; nor had any MS. copy circulated from hand to hand or become general property. The obvious conclusion would be that we are in the presence once more of one of those clever literary forgeries so common both in the middle ages and the present day, composed many years after the death of the hero, or victim; and upon which the memoirs and biographies of former days were so largely founded.

No. 5.

The Epigrams of EURIALO MORANI D'ASCOLI. Printed in Siena for SEMIONE DI NICOLÒ, Stationer. A.D. 1516, (st. Sen.) 12th February. (Dedicated to FRANCESCO SOZINI.)

EURIALI MORANI ASCULANI EPIGRAMMATÛ. *Libri duo. Cũ Grã 7 Privi. Impresso in Siena per SEMIONE DI NICOLÒ. Cartolaio. Anno Domini MDXVI. (1516). Die 12 de Feraio.*

Book I. c. ii.

PRO STATUA LUCRETIE SODOME

Si tunc lacteolis vidisset dextra papillas(is)¹
Ipsam non stygiis dextra dedisset aqu(is)²

Pro eadem

Nota erat antique sublata potentia Rome
Reddita pars Rome est major ab artifice

Pro eadem Dial

Cur te non duro penetras Lucretia ferro?
Quod tenet hinc consors q³ tenet inde pater

In eandem

Crudelis pictor crudelis dextera per quam
Ecce iterum Tyberis bella novantur aquis

¹ Misprint (?).

² Omitted.

³ Perhaps quod (?).

In eandem

Hyppolitum ad superos Diana reduxit ab Orco
 Me pictor campo duxit ab Elysio

In eandem

Me pictor fingens oravit numina : vivam
 Redderet : ut fierem verior historia

In eandem

Est picta & duro confodit pectora ferro
 O mirum est artem viva per artificis

In eandem

Nunc mihi pulchra Venus Tenui dat vescier aura
 Ut revocem a teneris sodoma te pueris

In eandem Dial

Sodoma pedico est : cur te Lucretia vivam
 Fecit : habet nostras pro Ganimedee nates

This poem is undoubtedly genuine and contemporary with Bazzi ; but it may after all, judging from the date (1516) of its publication, have been but an allusion to the picture, painted for Leo X.—in reward for which Bazzi obtained his title—and at the same time a coarse joke upon his racing name—a species of pleasantry (whatever we may think of its good taste) not out of keeping with the manners and customs of the period.

No. 6.

MARTINO SPANZOTTO *contracts to paint a picture for the patrician*
 NICCOLÒ D'AJAZZA. (ARCH. CIVICO DI VERCELLI.
Guidetto de Pelliparis. Notul. 19. fo. 17.)

MCCCCLXXXX. 'primo indictione nona die tertio
 mensis ianuarii, hora xviii. vel circha actum Vercellis

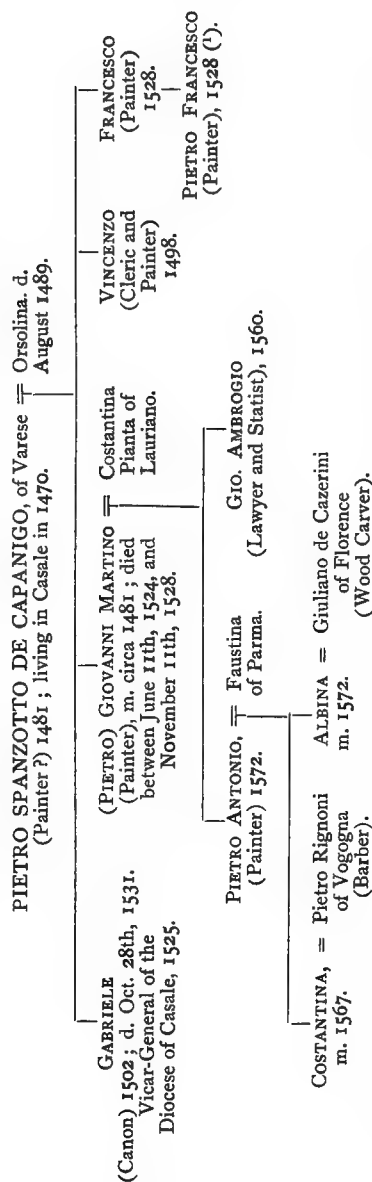
in vicinia scti Michaelis in domo infrascripti d. Nicolai videlicet in sala presentibus nob. d. Bartolomeo de Scutariis Antonio de Rubeis Jo. guideto de sustegno et iblito de cazamis fq. no. thome testibus.

Ibique magister Martinus Spanzotus pinctor sponte etc. convenit et promisit solempni stipulatione interveniente spectabili iuris doctori dno Nicolao de Agaciis facere unam anchonam ponendam ad altare capelle scti Thome de Aquino constructe in ecclesia scti Pauli de Vercellis cum imagine scte Marie sctorum Thome de Aquino Johis Baptiste scti Jeronimi scti Johis Appostoli et evangeliste scte Caterine et scte Lucie et cum imagine prefati dni Nicolai et d. Linorie eius consortis et ipsam anchonam dare videlicet pinctam ordinatam ad extimacionem duorum pinctorum expertorum elligendorum per ipsas partes ita tamen quod non excedat summam quinquaginta ducatorum et quam anchonam promisit pingere in hac civitate Vercellarum facere intaglare in Casale et exinde pingere in civitate Vercellar. et dare perfectam et laudatam hinc ad festum Nativitatis dni. nri. Jesu Xpi prox. vent. et incipere laborare infra pasca resurrectionis d. nri. Xpi. prox. vent. et dare perfectam et laudatam ut supra infra festum Natale vent. ut supra et ex nunc confitetur idem magister Martinus habuisse et habuit numeratos in presentia mei notarii infrascripti et testium suprascriptorum ducatos decem et grossos tres mediolani pro parte solucionis predicti operis dicte anchone renunciando etc. Item idem d. Nicolaus promisit solvere ducatos viginti infra festum pentecostes vent. . . . usque ad integram solucionem premissorum promisit solvere id. d. Nicolas promisit solvere dicto m. Martino perfecto et laudato ac extimato ut supra opere etc. obligantes etc. renunciando etc. iurantes attendere ut supra et non contravenire etc. precipientes instrumentum.

No. 6A.

PEDIGREE OF THE SPANZOTTO FAMILY.

TAKEN PRINCIPALLY FROM FRANCESCO NEGRI, "UNA FAMIGLIA DI ARTISTI CASALESI DEI SECOLI XV. E XVI."*
(ALESSANDRIA: JACQUEMOD. 1892.



* Since so little definite fact can be ascertained concerning the individuals forming this family, the dates given must be understood to be those of the documents or other records in which these persons are mentioned.

(?) Conte di Vesme doubts the existence of this person, since he is unable to find his name in the documents cited by Padre Bruzza (*Op. cit.*, pp. 20 and 40).

No. 7.

*Contract between GIOVANNI ANTONIO DE VERCELLI and
FRA ANDREA COSSA, Steward of the Convent of S. ANNA
IN CRETA. 10th July, 1503.*

R. ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI FIRENZE. *Archivio del
Patrimonio Ecclesiastico.* Pienza. A. CCCIX., vols. i.-ii.
(461), fol. 18 bis.

Apparerà per la presente, come oge che sono 10 de
luglio, maestro Joan Ant^o. de Vercelli depintor è restato
daccordo con mi frate Andrea Cossa cellerario del
monastero de Sancta Anna de Camprena, de pengere lo
refectorio del predicto monastero: e deve pegner doe
fazato del dicto refectorio; videlicet, tre lunecte nel
frontespicio de la porta; zoè, sopra la mensa del abbate
ce depegnerà lo miraculo che fè Xsto nostro Signor nel
deserto de la multiplicatione de cinque pane in società de
5000 homini, et che la pegnerà bella, ponendoce omne
sua diligentia et studio. Et sopra la porta del dicto
refectorio, da la parte de dentro, depegnerà tre altri
lunecte, con una penta in menzo, zoè la deposicione de la
croce con le figure condecante ad ipso misterio: et a le
altre lunecte depegnerà, ad la una, nostro patre sancto
Benedicto con alcuni frati retracti del proprio, et a l' altra
lunecta depegnerà sancta Anna, puro con alcuni frati
del medesimo modo, con li payse et prospectivi belli et
laudabili infra alcuna storia, como a l'altra condecante.
Et più deve pegnere le spallere intorno del refectorio, sopra
le spallere de legname in tanta alteza, quanto resta lo muro,
socto le finestre, con li tituli del monastero, de l' ordini, tanti
quanti ce ne andranno, belli et laudabili, como de sopra è
dicto. Et nui ne obligamo, zoè, Jo frate Andrea sopra-
dicto, come cellerario del dicto monastero, darli ducati vinti
d'oro larghi ad omni sua requisitione, facto il lavoro: Et
più, me obligo darli tucti li coluri necessari ad dicta pictura:
et tutto loro ce serrà necessario, de manero che il dicto
maestro Joan Ant^o. non à da ponere si non la manufactura

soa et de uno garzone : Et anco nui simo tenuti fare le spese al dicto maestro et al garzone : Et de questo simo restati de accordo, et perchè questà è la verità. Jo frate Andrea sopredicto ò facto la presente scripta de mia propria mano, ipso presente et sopto scrivendose de sua mano propria, presente frate Stefano de Milano et frate Bernardo da Siena et frate Bartholomeo de Vercelli, in questo dì 10 de luglio 1503.

(The receipt in Bazzi's handwriting follows :—

“Jo maestro Antonio che questo è la verità confermo (tucto) quello se sopra scritto, de mia propria mano, promecto oservalo.”)

No. 8.

Extracts from the Ledgers of the Convent of MONTE OLIVETO MAGGIORE, near Chiusure. Records of payments, materials, etc., supplied to GIOVANNI ANTONIO BAZZI.

ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI SIENA. *Libro d'Amministrazione di detto Monastero, segnato I.P.*

1505 (p. 46^t).

Item a dì 5 da Agosto de' dare carlini 3 prestay al depentore L. 1, sol. 1, den. o.

(p. 47^t)

El R. P. Abbate Generale de dare, a dì 10 d' Agosto, carlini cinque, qualli hebe el depentore ditto *Matazo*.¹
L. 2, s. 1, den. o.

1505 *Settembre* (p. 48^t)

Item, dare, a dì 24 ditto, carlini vinti qualli hebe el depentore per fornito pagamento de la sua prima istoria.

¹ It is worthy of note that the *Matazo* of this entry becomes *Giovanni Antonio*, and later *Maestro Giovanni Antonio* (once, even *da Verzelli*), as the accounts go on. That the monks did have amusing names for their employes is evident from certain entries on pp. 116^t and 117 regarding a person designated as “*il Stravagante*,” who seems to have been employed in the store-rooms.

1505 *Settembre* 29 (p. 48^t)

Item, die dare, a dì dicto Ducati uno, hebe el depentore, apare in questo a c. 53.

1505 *Ottobre* (p. 49^t,¹)

El R. P. Abbate infrascritto de' dare a dì 18 de ottobre, Ducati uno qualle hebe el p. priore luy lo haveva dacto al depentore, apare in questo a c. 53 in debito al depentore.

Item, a dì 19 dicto, hebe el garzone del dicto depentore di volontà sua Lire cinque, zoè carlini 10, presente f. Io. Baptista da Verona, in nel monasterio de Sena ; in questo a c. 53.

1505 (p. 52^t e. seg.)

Io, Antonio depentore de' el claustro di Monte Oliveto de' dare, a dì 29 de Settembre, ducati uno qualle hebe da me Cellerario, apare in questo a c. 49² in debito al padre Abbate Lire 7.

Item, a dì 18 d'ottobre de' da ducati uno qualle rese *Io.* al p. priore nostro per luy apare al debito al p. Abbate in questo a c. 49 L. 7.

Item, de' dare, a dì 19 dicto, Lire cinque ; zioè carlini dieci ; hebe da me el suo garzone nel monasterio de Sena, apare in questo a c. 49 L. 5, den. o.

Item, de' dare, a dì 2 di novembre, carlini tre, apare in questo a c. a la partita del p. Abbate. L. 1, s. 1.

Item, de' dare, a dì 12 di novembre, sol. tredece qualli spesi per luy a Sena in uno quinterno di carta reale et una oncia di senapò s. 13.

Item, de' dare, a dì 26 di novembre, carlini undece qualli hebe per dare a *Melchion* suo garzone quando lo mando a casa sua, zioè L. 5, sol. 10.

Item, de' dare, a dì 6 di dicembre, carlini sey, qualli hebe da el Cellerario minore L. 3.

¹ The pages are numbered wrong, and there are two pages 49. This entry is on the first.

² Perhaps this is the same item as that recorded above on August 5th.

Item, a dì 18 dicto, de' dare uno ducato, quallo hebe el suo garzone a Sena de suo consentimento

L. 7, sol. 1.

Item, de' dare, a dì 25 dicto, carlini tre quelli hebe el Celleraiio minore . . . L. 1.

Item, de' dare, a dì 2 di zenaro, s. vinti, qualli dete il Celleraiio minore . . . L. 1.

Item, de' dare, a dì 22 di zenaro, L. tredece, s. sedece, qualli spesi in folie 300 d' oro L. 13, sol. 16, den. o.

Item, a dì 28 dicto, de' dare L. quatro, sol. quatro.

L. 4, sol. 4.

Item, a dì 15 de febraro detto, carlini tre, qualli hebe presente el portinaro . . . L. 1, sol. 10.

Item, a dì 20 dicto, de' dare carlini 4 de li qualli n'ebe duy luy et duy me ne feze dare al suo garzone.

L. 2.

Io, Antonio depentore infrascritto de' dare, a dì 25 dicto, ducati mezo qualli feze boni al Priore di Sena, qualle li haveva dato al suo garzoe di suo consentimento

L. 3, sol. 10, den. o.

Item, a dì 29 dicto, pagay a Sena per braza 10 di tella per fare camise Ducati uno et per uno paro di calze L. otto s. duy en tutto . . . L. 15, s. 2, d. o.

Item, de' dare carlini quatro, qualli ò facti boni al infrascritto nostro garzone per suo dicto, et carlini tre hebe contati . . . L. 3, sol. 10.

Item, a dì 15 di Marzo, de' dare carlini novi qualli me fece dare a uno fratello del suo garzone di Santo Geminiano et al dicto garzone feze fare uno par di calzoni de tella che costorno s. 37 che sono in tutto L. sey sol. sette, zoè

L. 6, sol. 7, den. o.

Item, de' dare soldi tredece qualli hebe *Vincenti* suo garzone per compire uno ducato gli s' apresti.

L. 6, sol. 7.

Item, a dì 25 di Marzo 1506. De' dare carlini tre ie li portò *Vincenti* per andare a Siena.

L. 1, sol 10.

Item, de' dare, a dì 5 de Aprile 1506, ducati dece qualli hebe presente el p. Priore da comprare colori a Foligno, zoè duc. 10. L. 70.

Item, de' dare, a dì 8 dicto, hebe *Vincenti* per suo conto sol. venti, presente f. Augustino converso.

L. 1.

Item, a dì dicto a *Melchion* sol. sedece per comprasse uno par di scharpe sol. 16.

Item, de' dare, duc. deci quelli hebe dal p. Abbate per compito pagamento de la *prima istoria*.

L. 70, sol. 0.

Item, a dì cinque di magio *hebbe una cappa, uno giubone di velluto, uno burrico di velluto negro.* Item, *uno paio di calze di pavonazo chiaro, una birretta negra, un cappello con la benda di seta, uno feltro da cavalcare, cioè uno gabbano, uno paio di scarpe di velluto, una spada, due camise lavorate, quali erano di fra Giovanni Ambrogio nostro frate et erano rimasti di accordo di prezzo di sapra dette cose et abia a pagare ducati d' oro trenta cinque, quali luy confessò havere havuti da me frate Evangelista da Viterbo celleraio.* Cioè Lire due cento quaranta cinque Cioè L. 245.¹

Item, hebe ducati duy d' oro quali spese el R.P. Abbate ad Milano per luy per tanta tela, cioè br. 20 di Milano sonno circa L. 14.

Sonno in tutto lire quattrocento novanta due Soldi s. uno, portati ad questo innanzi a f. 92 dove è el credito suo L. 492, s. 1.

1505 (p. 62).

Item, a dì 20 settembre, per libre 6 di *carne* comprò Andrea nostro garzone a Buonconvento *per li infermi e per li depentori* s. 16

These last two entries are on p. 53^{4v} and in a different handwriting.

1505. *Settembre* 25 (p. 62).

Item, a dī dicto per libre 14 di *carne per li garzoni et infermi et depentori* soldi 14 e soldi 7 spese Valentino.

L. 1, s. 1.

1505. *Novembre* 16 (p. 63^b).

Item, a dī dicto per carne per li *depentori et infermi*.

sol. 8.

Item a dī dicto me assegna el p. priore nostro speso L. 5 per la pitanza del pesso per el convento et per una somma di carbone et *carne per infermi*, etc.

Lire 5.

(p. 64).

Item, a dī 24 dicto per la pitanza del pesso pel convento lire 2 Sol. 18 den. 4, et per *carne per li infermi et depentori*: sol. 8. et 4 manichi di vanghe sol. 7 sono in tucti Lire 3, sol 13, den. 4.

Item, a dī 28 dicto per la pitanza del pesso pel convento lire 2 e soldi 18 den. 4. et soldi vinti di *carne per infermi, dipentori e famegli* sono in tutto.

L. 3, sol. 18, den. 4.

1505. *dicembre* 7 (p. 64^b).

Item, a dī di dicto, per libre 4 di *carne per li infermi et depentori* sol. 8 sol. 8.

1505. *Januarii* 11 (p. 65^b).

Item, a dī dicto, per *tordi per li infermi et depentori*.

sol. 12.

1506 (p. 66).

Item a dī primo Febraro *per carne per li infermi et depentori* sol. 12 et al fornaro sol. 30.

Lire 2. sol 2.

1506 (p. 69).¹

Item a dì 16 di maggio soldi dieci *al dipentore per carne* come appare al libro R. ad conto del P. abbate ad carte 217 sol. 10.²

Item a dì 23 *per carne al dipentore* a libro R. a. c. 217 sol. 10.

Item a dì 24 ad *Vincentio* per commissione del dipentore Suo portione a libro R. a c. 217. Come appare ad carte 92 di questo lire 1.³

1506. *Maggio* 26 (p. 69^b).

Item, per colla e magliette al dipentore appare al conto del debito del R. P. Abbate a libro segnato R. 216
L. o, sol. 4, den 8.

(do.)

Item, a dì 29 di maggio *per carne per el dipentore, &c.* L. 1, sol. 2.

(do.)

(On June 3rd there is a notice of meat "*for the sick and the painters*," from which the latter are struck out.)

Item, per pagare el pintore al suo giubone a dì di detto
Lire 2. (?)

1506. *Maggio* (p. 91^b).

Giovanni Antonio dipentore del nostro claustro per uno soldo facto insieme de li danari quali ha havuti dal Cellerario passato, cioè fra Benedetto da Milano, come appare posta per posta ad questo a c. 52/2/53 deve dare Lire duecento trentatre soldi uno : el saldo fu facto a dì 17 di Maggio millesimo detto di sopra, cioè

L. 233, sol. 1.

¹ *Observation.*—On this page (69) there are two entries of expenses "*quando venne Pandolfo.*" Is this Pandolfo Petrucci?

² This notice has been cancelled.

³ This has also been cancelled.

Item, deve dare a dì 10 di Maggio lire quattordici, quale hebbe per tanto panno di lino li comprò el R. P. Abbate ad Milano L. 14, sol. o, den. o.

Item, deve dare per panni e vestiti di velluto et altre cose havute, come appare cosa per cosa in questo a c. 53, e rimasto d' accordo di tutte di lire ducento quaranta cinque, e lire ducento quaranta cinque (*sic*)

cioè L. 245, sol. o, den. o.

Item, deve dare lire una, data contanti ad *Vincentio* suo garzone per sua commissione a dì xxiiij. di maggio presente fra Paulo converso da Faenza lire 1, sol. o, den. o, come appare ad uscito scritto ad questo a c. 67

L. 1, sol. o.

Item, deve dare per colla e magliette da giubone a dì 27 di Maggio L. o, sol. 4.

Item, dare per panico per gli ucelli.

Item, deve dare lire due, quali li dette contanti presente Baptista Ciacci e *Marchionne* in cella per pagare la factura del giubone L. 2, sol. o.

Item, a dì 11 di Giugno hebe *Marchionne* suo garzone per comprare un paio di scarpe quando menò un cavallo ad Sena L. o, sol. 16, den. o.

Item a dì 29 di Giugno, hebe lire due presente Guerrierree Francesco Britij, disse li voliva per pagare le scarpe e lo sarto ad Buonconvento a °1. R. a. c. 217

L. 2, sol. o, den. o.

Item, deve dare lira una quale detti ad *Vincentio* suo garzone per sua commissione a dì 23 di luglio, presente fra Olivierij L. 1, sol. o.

Item, deve dare a dì 5 di agosto, soldi quindici presente Nicolò converso e fra Oliviero. L. o, sol. 15, den. o.

Item, deve dare soldi 12 quali hebe *Marchionne* dal P. Priore a dì 8 per comprare uno paro di scarpe de Maso di Mariano del Vechia L. o, sol. 12.

Item, a dì 17 d' agosto hebe dal P. Priore ad Sena contanti per pagare scarpe, presente me cellerario lire due sol. 10 L. 2, sol. 10, den. o.

Item, a dì 3 di settembre hebe lire quattordici per dare *ad Vincentio* quando andò ad San Gimignano li de' el R. P. P. fra Constantino da Milano come appare a la scripta facta ad detto *Vincentio* a 1°. R. c. 225

L. 14, sol. 0.

Item, a dì, hebe soldi 6 quali li spendei per luy a dì 19 di settembre in libra una di verde terre e oncie 1 di gomma draganti dal nostro spetiale e da Giorgio Vieri

L. 0, sol. 6.

Item, deve dare lire una quali hebe a dì 27 di settembre in celleraria presente el Charavita e lo fiorentino

L. 1, sol. 0.

Item, a dì 27 sol. 12 quali fe' dare *Marchionne* per suo debito ad Mariano del Vechia presente el Voltolina e fra Benedetto sta la badia Rofeno. L. 0, sol. 12.

Item, a dì penultimo di settembre, hebe *Vincentio* suo dipentore per comprare pignatti el dì di mercato di Chiusure lira una L. 1, sol. 0.

Item, a dì 27 di ottobre per comprar biada ad Antonio nostro per lui ad Asciano Lire 7, sol. 0.

E piu fe' dare el P. Priore lire due per biada ad luj contanti a dì 29 di ottobre lire cinque, sonno in tutto lire septe in celleraria L. 7, sol. 0.

L. 516, sol. 16, den. (8).

(p. 75.)

Et piu sol. quattro ad fantone per fare bianchi panni al dipentore per lenzole e tovaglie ad 8 di Novembre

Sol. 4.

(p. 92.)

Item, dare havere lire vintuna gli date ad me fra Xristoforo da Viterbo che mi serba stanti cioè¹

L. 21.

¹ This item has been also cancelled.

(p. 92.)

Giovanni Antonio contrascripto deve havere per una historia quale ha facta ne la faccia verso l' uscio del Refectorio, cioè la prima dove *sonno le donne che ballano*, ducati dece d' accordo così cioè lire settanta

L. 70, sol. 0.

Item, deve havere per septe altre historie ne la medesima facciata ad rasone di ducati septe la historia, lire 343

Lire 343.

1506 (p. 92^b).

Giovanni Antonio dipintore deve dare lire cinquecento ventisei, soldi sedici, den. otto, come appare in nel foglio indicto a c. 92 . . . L. 526 : 16 : 8.

Item, deve dare lire una data ad *Marchionne* a dì 5 di ottobre per la biada ad Asciano L. 1.

Item, a dì 10 di novembre per pagare la portatura de la biada d' Asciano . . . L. 0, sol. 9.

Item, deve dare lire quindici e soldi diece, dei quali ho dati ad *Vincentio* per lui a dì 12 di novembre millesimo soprascripto per el salario di detto *Vincentio*

L. 15, sol. 10.

E più a dì 13 di novembre soldi 7. ad *Marchionne* quando *Vincentio* si partì che andò a Sena appare a l^o. R. c. 235

L. 0, sol. 7.

Item, deve havere lire 21 dati ad me in deposito.

Posto in questo dinnanzi a c. 94.

L. 434.

Portata in questo a c. 200.

526 : 16 : 8.

434 : 0 : 0.

Posto innanzi a c. 94. . . L. 092 : 16 : 8.

(p. 93.)

Giovanni Antonio contrascripto deve havere come appare in questo indicto al foglio imediato a c. 92, lire quattrocento trenta quattro . . . L. 434, sol. 0, den. 0

1506. *Exitus Pictoris* (p. 93^b).

Giovanni Antonio dipentore deve dare lire novanta due, sol. sedici, den. 8, come appare in questo indicto a c. 92

L. 92, sol. 16, den. 8.

Item, deve dare lire una data ad *Marchionne* suo a dì 5 di ottobre per biada che comprò ad Asciano

L. o.

E più, a dì 10 di novembre, per pagarè la portatura d' una soma di biada d' Asciano sol. 9

L. o, sol. 9.

Et più deve dare lire quindici soldi dieci, quale detti per sua commissione ad *Vincentio* quando fece conto con lui a dì 12 di novembre, per salario di detto *Vincentio*

L. 15 : 10 : 0

A dì 13 novembre, et più soldi sette ad *Marchionne* per dare a dicto *Vincentio* quando partì, a dì dicto

L. o, sol. 7.

Et più, a dì 27 di novembre, lira una hebe da me Cellerario contanti per dare ad uno d' uno tondo di legno

L. 1. o. o.

Et più a dì 29 di novembre per una groppiera e testiera e pettorale pagai al Sellario nostro per el suo cavallo ad Sena presente Antonio nostro de la stalla, Lira sei, soldi quindici L. 6, sol. 15.

Item, deve dare soldi 18 fatti boni ad Biasio Malandrini per lui d' una vittura de li tondi fece venire da Sena a dì 28 di novembre L. o, sol. 18.

Item, a dì 21 soldi 7 per pagare li panni imbiancati

L. o, sol. 7.

Item, a dì 22 di dicembre soldi vinti ad *Marchionne* per lui presente fra Hieronimo cappellano a la Abbazia disse voleva comprare scarpe L. 1, sol. o.

Item, a dì 23 di dicembre, hebe ditto *Giovanni Antonio* lire cinque contanti in cellereria quando andò ad Sena per li denari de li tondi L. 5. o. o.

Item, a dì 6 di Febbraio soldi 30 ad *Marchionne* per lui disse voleva comprare galline quando acconciava le reti de lo chiostro L. 1, sol. 10.

A dì 24 di febraio soldi 4 per oncie due di giallolino
L. o, sol. 4.

A dì 2 di marzo lire due quando andò per lo cunto pure del R. P. Priore nostro . . . L. 2, sol. o.

A dì detto, per comprare uno quinterno di carta reale sol. 12, lo comprò lo padre priore di Sena
L. o, sol. 12.

A dì 11 di marzo lire septe ad *Marchionne* le hebe da fra Olivieri per comprare biada L. 7, sol. o.

E più per libre 12 di colla a dì 13 di marzo
L. o, sol. 4.

E più a dì 30 di Marzo lira una ad *Marchionne* per lui per la via di Sena L. 1, sol. o.

E più a dì . . . di . . . lire septe dal R. P. Abbate per pagare uno paio di calze negre de Fiorenza
L. 7, sol. o.

L. 144, sol. 12, den. 8.

1507 (p. 94).

Et più deve dare lire due facti boni per lui a M° Nicolo maniscalco d' Asciano per medicatura del suo cavallo, appare a libro R. a c. 162 . . . Lire 2, sol. o.

E più a dì 16 d' aprile lire due dati per comprare la biada ad fra Andrea Cossa¹ per lui L. 2, sol. o.

Et più deve dare a dì ditto lire 21 per panni hebe da fra Ambrosio da Cremona *cioè uno giubone di damasco negro, uno pugnale indorato ed uno paio di cortellini d' argento* d'accordo così dal R. P. Abbate
L. 21, sol. o.

¹ Cf. S. Anna in Creta document.

Et più deve dare lire due soldi quindici, de li quali ne ho dati soldi 30 al P. Abate di San Miniato, per tanti colori per sua commissione e soldi 25 ad Antonio de la stalla per sua commissione sono messi a libro R. a c. 229

L. 2 : 15.

Et più deve dare lire septe date ad *Marchionne* per sua commissione a dì 15 di magio, date di quelli del deposito

L. 7, sol. 0.

Et più deve dare soldi 10 a dì 30 di magio per uno quinterno di charta reale per fare il disegno de la istoria dela porta L. 0, sol. 10.

Et più a dì 15 di giugno deve dare lire quattordici contanti da me del deposito L. 14, sol. 0.

Et più a dì 18 di detto deve dare lire quarantadue quali hebe contanti dal R. P. Abbate in ducati sei d'oro in cellereria presente el R. P. Priore L. 42, sol. 0.

Et più deve dare a dì 15 di luglio 1507 lire quattordici soldi nove dati per comprare stara $22\frac{1}{2}$ d' orzo ad ragione di soldi 13 lo staro ad Asciano . . . L. 14, sol. 9

Et più soldi 4 per la vettura d' una soma di detto orzo a quello di Piochi e più per ferrare el cavallo allo Spenna ad Asciano, sol. due den. otto sono L. 0, sol. 6 : 8.

Et più deve dare a dì 6 d' agosto lire ventiuana soldi 7 quali detti presente Senzo Ciacci, disse volere comprare biada ad Asciano in cellereria nostra e furo tre ducati d' oro.

L. 21, sol. 7.

Et più a dì 10 d' agosto deve dare lire 4 soldi 13 quali hebe dal R. P. Priore nostro per pagare uno contadino, li portò fra Giovanni Delfinale converso nel claustro dipinto.

L. 4, sol. 13.

Seguita questa escita a l' altra banda di questa a c. 94.

1507 (p. 94^b)

A dì 28 di agosto deve dare soldi dieci li dette el R. P. Priore per me per dare ad *quello da Verzelli che andava ad Roma* L. 0, sol. 10.

A dì 29 di settembre lira una soldi uno, per la fiera di Chiusure L. 1, sol. 1.

A dì detto soldi 7 hebe parte per uno rasoio compro ad Chiusure da Giuliano nostro soldi sei et soldi uno per verde terra al Padre cellerario di S. Anna.

L. o, sol. 7.

A dì 6 di ottobre lira una soldi dieci, presente el R. P. Priore, disse per comprare tondi L. 1, sol. 10.

A dì 11 di ottobre hebe dal R. P. Priore nostro ducati uno d' oro *per andare ad S. Gemignano*, e ducati uno di camera ad Francesco per comprare smalto ad Agobio, per lire 13, sol. 16 L. 13, sol. 16.

A dì ultimo di ottobre deve dare lire due contanti presente el portinaio e Betto Ciacci, disse per dare ad Nicco Senzi per le scarpe et altre cose ad Buonconvento.

L. 2, sol. o.

A dì 13 di novembre soldi due per meza libra di verde terra comprò Biasio ad Sena per lui.

L. o, sol. 2.

A dì 14 di novembre lire una soldi dieci disse per dare parte a Ton Calapa et parte al beccaio.

L. 1, sol. 10.

A dì 24 di novembre deve dare lire septe pagai per lui a M^o Lorenzo calzettaro in Sena scontro ad Antonio Piccolomini, presente fra Jo. Andrea Canobino.

L. 7 : o : o.

A dì 13 di dicembre soldi 2 per libbre meza di terra verde.

L. o, sol. 2.

A dì 24 di dicembre lire dieci, sol. dieci, hebe presente el Pisano per pagare nove carlini la paglia de' Machetti e per dare la mancia al Pisano Lippi Topi.

L. 10, sol. 10.

A dì 6 di gennaio deve dare lire vintuna contanti presente frate Giovanni Andrea Canobino et fra Pietro da Ponte Tremoli converso L. 21, sol. o.

A dì 28 di gennaio soldi undici ad Simone Ciacci per uno cappone comprò da lui L. o, sol. 11.

A dì 1^o di Marzo lire due sol. sedicj quali dettj ad Jacomino da' riozo per carne havuta da lui in più volte per sua commissione, presente Pasquo di Goro e lo portinaio.

L. 2, sol. 16.

L. 62 : 15 : 0.

(p. 95.)

A dì 6 di Aprile sol. sei in oncie 3 giallolino et soldi 3 den. 4 in pani dieci di gesso e soldi 3 den. 4 in libre 10 di colla di carniccio, quali gli mandai per Bartholomeo famiglio L. 0, sol. 12, den. 8.

A dì 15 di Aprile lire due, soldi cinque pagai uno centolo a la bottica di M^o Giovanni Spagnuolo per lui presente M^o Lorenzo, compar suo calzettaro. L. 2, sol. 5.

A dì 28 di aprile lire cinquanta otto contanti per dare ad Giulio Landucci, presente el R. P. Priore.

L. 58, sol. 0.

A dì 16 di maggio 1508 lire ventiuna presente el R. P. Priore nostro et el P. Cellerario di S. Gemignano, per comprare oro ad Sena L. 21, sol. 0.

L. 81, sol. 17, den. 8.

Somma in tutto quello ha havuto da nuj come appare in questo a c. 92 e c. 94, lire et qui di sopra lire ottocento trentaquattro soldi sei den. otto : cioè

L. 834 : 6 : 4.

Posto in questo a c. 106.

1508 (p. 105^b).

Giovanni Antonio infrascritto deve dare, a dì 22 di maggio, lire ottocento trenta quattro sol. sei den. 8 per uno conto levato in queste a c. 95. L. 834 : 6 : 8 (*sic*)

E de' dare a dì 11 di giugno 1508, L. sette contate a lui presente Benedetto e Francesco nostro comessi apare a la scripta L. 7.

E de' dare, a dì 25 dicto, ducati quatro contati a lui funo tanti carlini, presente lo P. Visitatore e fra Thomaxo da Peruxa apare a la scripta . . . L. 28 : 0 : 0

A dì 8 di luio carlini sei contanti a lui ne la stalla, disse volere cambiare in carlini tuxi per lui che aveva a Sciano.

L. 1, sol. 10.

A dì 19 ditto carlini sette contanti a lui per mandare a tôle oro et altre sue cossette presente fra Bernardo da Siena L. 3, sol. 10.

A dì 20, carlini sette la quali gli detti contanti suxo lo murello de la stalla, disse voleva mandare a pagare Ciacca a Sciano, presente frate Christofuletto.

L. 3, sol. 10.

A dì 24, carlini quatro e mezo a lui contanti per comprare oro, fanno tanti quatrini . L. 2, sol. 5.

A dì 5 di agosto duchati venticinque d' oro larghi li quali li detti presente lo P. Priore in cellereria presente fra Joanni di Lodi cellerario minore, sono in moneda.

L. 175, sol. 0.

A dì dieci, dughati venti d' oro in oro larghi che sono per uno cavallo domandato el *Draghetto* di pello baio oscuro lo quale hebe dal Reverendo p. Abate fino a dì 6 di marzo proximo passato d' achordo insieme sono a monede L. 140, sol. 0.

A dì di 13 detto dughati venti d' oro in oro larghi contanti a lui in cella, le quali gidette lo P. Priore presente me cellerario e lo cellerario minore, sono in monede.

L. 140, sol. 0.

A dì, dughati dexe dotto (diciotto?) d' oro in oro larghi contanti a lui presente lo P. Priore e fra Agostino di Biscaria L. 126.

1508 (p. 106).

Giovanni Antonio dipentore deve havere lire quattrocentotrentaquattro come appare in questo a c. 92 in tre partite L. 434, sol. 0, den. 0.

Et più deve havere ducati septantasepte per undici historie quali ha facte nel claustro verso el dormitorio de' vechi, che sonno L. 539, sol. 0, den. 0,

Et più de havere ducati otanta quatro d' oro che sono per dodici storie che lui a fato nel clauastro supra scripto che sono L. 588 : 0 : 0

Somma . . . L. 1561 : 0 : 0

(p. 106^b).

M^o *Giovanni Antonio* infra scripto de' dare, a dì 22 di agosto 1508, dugati tre d' oro larghi li quali gli detti presente lo padre Priore in cella del R. P. Abbate presente Agostino da Mulazo sono . L. 21, sol. 0.

Et de' dare Lire settantaotto sol. 18 den. 4, li quali sono per molte spexe extraordinarie et ordinarie, fatone raxone insieme d' accordo presente lo m^o Agostino nostro da Biscaria da Paviae e Paulo de Giovanni goro fabro di Buonconvento questo dì 13 di agosto.

L. 78, sol. 18, den. 4.

Nota che n' apare quietanza de mano del sopra detto M^o *Giovanni Antonio* posta ne la cassa del R. P. Abate.

Maestro *Giovanni Antonio da Verzelli* depentore de havere lire novanta nove sol. 18, den. 4 di monede senesi sono per resto de una sua ragione levade en aprovade in questo a c. 106 L. 99, sol. 18, den. 4.

1506. *Memoria* (p. 125).

Pacto facto con M^o. *Giovanni Antonio* dipentore per causa del cavallo quale tene in casa a le spese nostre del fieno solo : cioè che si deve vedere quanto fieno mangia fra il dì et la notte e computare quanto vale, et così deve pagare cominciando a dì primo di ottobre 1506 per fino ad capitulo proximo futuro, presente *Marchione* suo ragazzo in cellereria, etc. Et più poi ha tenuto il cavallo passato capitolo del 1507 per fino ad questo dì che si partirà di quà e che mandarà via detto cavallo.

1506. *Memoria* (p. 126).

Memoria de li pacti havemo facti con M^o *Giovanni Antonio* pictore per causa de la spesa del suo cavallo che

tene in casa circa al fieno che nuj li diamo, cominciando questo dì 19 di ottobre, cioè che deva dare lire . . . ogni mese per el detto fieno che mangia el suo cavallo per fino ad tanto che ce lo terrà et così luj è contanto et unj similmente; presente Antonio da Cremona, *Marchione* suo, in celleria nostra.

Porta al Memoriale D. a c. 139.

No. 9.

Marriage Contract of GIOVANNI ANTONIO, son of GIACOMO BAZZI, of VERCELLI, and BEATRICE, daughter of LUCA DE' GALLI of SIENA.

ARCHIVIO NOTARILE PROVINCIALE DI SIENA. *Rogiti di Ser Alessandro di Niccolò della Grammatica. Atti anteriori al 1585. Reparto A. [Atti Notarili], Busta No. 193. Filza dal 1507 al 1515. No. 61. 1510. 28 di Ottobre.*

Anno Domini MDX. indictione XIII. die xxviii. octobris.

Johannes Antonius Jacobi de Bazis pictor de (Verzè) fuit confessus habuisse et recepissee pro dotibus domine Beatricis, olim filie M^o Luce Bartholomei Egidii, et sororis Bartolomei et Nicholai, filiorum dicti Luce; et Bartholomeo predicto dante et solvente non tam ejus nomine, quam vice et nomine dicti Nicholai minoris viginti quinque annorum; florino 450 de libris 4 pro floreno: cum pacto de antifatio ad rationem X pro centenario, quos, in casu dotium restituendarum, promisit restituere Senis, Florentie, Pisis etc. pro eis conveniri et gravari voluit in forma Chamere, etc., ad sensum recipientis—pro quibus obligavit, etc.: juravit, etc., renuntiavit—sub pena dupli, etc.

Insuper statim et incontinenti, non obstante confessione facta per dictum *Johannem Antonium* se habuisse, etc., dicti Bartholomeus et Nicholaus fecerunt et constituerunt sese principales debitores et pagatores dicto *Joanni Antonio* in florenis 400 ad dictam rationem hinc ad duos annos, et ab inde in antea ad omnem petitionem et voluntatem dicti *Joannis Antonii*; 2 florenos cum pacto apposto, quod durante dicto tempore duorum annorum dicti flor.: 400

alimententur per dictos Bartholomeum et Nicholaum ad rationem quinque flor. : pro centinaio pro quibus obligaverunt, etc. Juravit dictus Bartolomeus major xxv. annorum predicta servare, etc., sub pena dupli, etc., quam penam, etc., et dicta pena, etc.

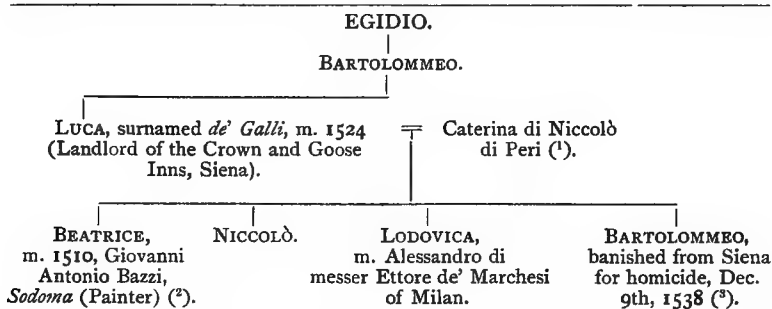
Item reficere, etc., renuntiavit, etc., quibus quidem, etc., rogantes, etc., actum.

In terzerio Kamollie in hospitio Corone coram et presentibus Paulo Salvetto et Cristophoro de Chigiis, testibus.

No. 10.

PEDIGREE OF THE *GALLI* FAMILY.

DRAWN PRINCIPALLY FROM GIORGIO VASARI, *Le Vite*, etc. (Commentary.)
VOL. VI. p. 404, *Note*. (Firenze : Sansoni, 1881).



¹ ARCH. NOT. PROV. SIENA. *Rogiti di Ser Ventura di Cionne Ciogni da Lucignano in Val di Chiana*. Filza dal 1523-27. No. 48. 19 Maggio, 1524. Rep. A. Busta, 604.

² ARCH. detto. *Atti Anteriori* al 1585. *Rogiti di Ser Alessandro di Niccolò della Grammatica*. Filza dal 1507-15. No. 61. 28 Ottobre, 1510. Rep. A., Busta 193.

³ ARCH. DI STATO DI SIENA. *Ufficiali di Custodia* 102. *Libro delle Condanne* dal 1515-36. 1538, 9 Dicembre.

No. 11.

Acknowledgment of Liability made by VINCENZO, son of BENEDETTO TOMAGNI, Painter of S. Gimignano, to "GIOVANNI ANTONIO OF VERCELLI."

1511, 7 di *Giugno*.

ARCHIVIO detto. *Rogiti di Ser Niccolò di Poso di Giovanni Posi da Montalcino* dal 1505 al 1512. *Atti anteriori cit.* Rep. A. (*Atti Notarili*), Busta No. 351.

In nomine Domini amen. Anno Domini 1511. Indictione 14, die vero 7 Junii, Julio 2^o summo Pontifici

maximo et Max^o imperatore Regnantibus etc. Pateat etc. qualiter magister *Vincentius Bennardi Chelis* de Sancto Gimignano, ad-presens pictor in civitate Senarum, et nunc excarceratus de carceribus curie domini Potestatis (*de Monte Ilicino*), sua sponte fecit et constituit se verum et legitimum debitorem et pagatorem *Johant^o* pictori de *Verzelli comitatus Mediolani* et pro eo, mihi notario infrascripto presente et ricepienti vice et nomine dicti *Johannis* tanquam presente persona in ducatis viginti quinque auri larcis, in quibus, ut asseritur, tenetur occasione nonnullarum rerum ab eo habitarum;* Quos 25 duc: dare promisit eidem *Johant^o* pictori ad omnem ejus petitionem et voluntatem Senis, Florentie, Pisis, Rome, Bononie, etc. et in quolibet aliorum locorum alibi sine aliqua exceptione pro quibus sponte promisit et se obligavit in forma camere et voluit in quolibet aliorum locorum vel aliter posse convenire in dictam formam camere ut moris est cum omnibus clausulis et obligationibus ordinariis, etc.

Pro quibus servandis obligaverunt se et suos heredes et bona jure pignoris ypothecie renuntians etc. et juravit etc. rogans etc.

Coram et presentibus Bartolomeo Dominici de . . .
et Benedicto olim petri Sutoris testibus Senensibus.
Actum in Palatio domini Potestatis in thalamo dicti
Palatii.

Ego Nicolaus Posi notarius—scripsi.

Note.—In the margin, at the head of the document: "Obligazio di 25 duc.: Maestro Vincentium pictorem."

In the margin, at the point marked *: "Valor quarum adscendit ad summam dictorum ducator: 25."

No. 12.

Agreement made by "GIOVANNI ANTONIO DI GIACOMO DI VERZE DE SAVOIA" with AGOSTINO BARDI to paint for him either the façade of his house or an altar panel.

1513, 9 di Novembre.

ARCHIVIO detto. *Rogiti di Ser Mariano d' Antonio Benucci (Gestioni Notarili).* Rep. A., Busta 534.

Anno Domini MDXIII. Indictione II. di vero viiii.
Novembris.

Johannes Antonius Jacobi de Verzè de Savoia fecit, constituit, et solenniter ordinavit se verum debitorem, et pagatorem Augustini Francisci Toti de Senis ducatorem triginta auri in auro largorum, et hoc pro uno equo a dicto Augustino habito, et recepto (cum monimento velluti nigri, cum sprangis deauratis:¹) de quibus quidem triginta ducatis ipse *Johannes Antonius* promixit (*sic*), et se obligando convenit dicto Augustino, promixit pingere infra terminum otto mensium, si dicto Augustino videbitur et ab eo fuerit requisitum, (¹si non fuerit justa causa impeditus,) unam parietem, sive facciam domus dicti Augustini, sive unam tabulam altaris ad electionem prefati Augustini, et factis supradictis picturis debent extimari per duos pictores eligendos, unum pro quolibet: et si fuerint dicte picture extimate ultra pretium dictorum ducatorum triginta, ipse Augustinus promisit solvere, et satisfacere usque ad integram satisfactionem: et si fuerint extimate minoris pretii, ipse *Johannes Antonius* promixit pingere tantas picturas que ascendant ad summam ducatorem triginta. Et prefatus Augustinus promixit, et se obligando convenit dicto *Johanni Antonio*, quod dictus ecus (*sic pro "equus"*) est sine aliquo defectu vid.: de pedibus, ossibus, et oculis, et bulsi: hoc tamen intellecto, quod dictus *Johannes Antonius* debeat notificare prefato Augustino infra quindecim dies; et dicto termino elapso, ipse Augustinus non vult teneri, nec obligatum esse, etc. etc.²

¹ In the margin.

² Usual legal forms.

Actum in Palatio Magnificorum Dominorum coram, et presentibus Jacobo Luce de Machabrunis, et Johanne Francisco, domigello.

No. 13.

Letter from JACOMO V. PRINCE OF PIOMBINO to LORENZO DE' MEDICI recommending GIOVANNI ANTONIO BAZZI, who is entering his horses to run in a "Palio" at Florence. (ARCH. DI STATO IN FIRENZE. *Carteggio Mediceo privato, Filza n. 114, c. 191.*)

Magnifice affinis hon. lo presente exhibitor serà *Ioan Antonio de Averzè* mio servitor, quale viene costì per far correre sui cavalli: et per lo Amore che io li porto et desiderando suo honore: Mi è parso Accomparlo con le presenti mie da V. M. pregandola strectamente voglia esser contenta ad mia complacentia prestarli quello favore et auxilio li fusse opportuno, che certamente ogni piacer sarrà facto alprefato *Ioanni Antonio* lo reputerò facto alla mia propria persona, et così ne resterò conparticular obligo a V.M. alla quale, in simile et major cosa, mi offero sempre paratissimo, e aquella mi recomando. plumbini *xviii. Junij MDXV.*

Come fratello di V.M.

Lo Signore di Piobino (*sic*).

(*Address*) Magnifico affini honor. Laurentio de Medicis; Florentie.

NOTES CONCERNING THE SIENESE PALII.

ARCH. NOT. PROV. SIENA. *Bastardello dei Quattro Provveditori di Biccherna, nelle carte di Ser Alessandro della Grammatica Not. Rep. E., Busta 21, Fasc. 5, p. 28 t. Atti di Ordinamento Civile e Politico.*

Die x. Martij 1512.

*Equi currentes per festum Sancti Ambrosii.*¹

¹ The Feast of the Blessed Ambrogio Sansedoni is said to have been founded in 1273, to commemorate the arrival of the Saint with the *Bull* of Pope Honorius IV., removing the interdict of the excommunication

Bartolomeus Salimbenis de panciaticis de pistorio—*Unus equus baius obscurus cum media stella in fronte sfregiatus ex retro more turchesco*—Ragazius, Charolus Laurentii de Prato.

Magnificus Capitaneus Custodie—*Unus equus saurus cum pilis albis per dorsum sfacciatus sfregiatus*—Raghazius vocatus, Spera in Dio, alias di porta a chasa.

Augustinus Bardi—*Unus equus morellus meletiutus cum quâdam muschetta alba in fronte*—Ragazius, Fallattuti di pizaglia.

Symonettus de Cortonio—*Unus equus baius clarus sfacciatus balzanus pedis sinistri ex latere retro*—Ragazius, Spera in Dio et nostra Donna.

Sodoma.—*Unus equus leardus pomellatus sfregiatus*—Ragazius, Tempestinus de Modana.

Item, unus equus leardus sardus sfacciatus moschatus in testa—Ragazius, Bettus de Viterbio.

ARCH. DI STATO. *Biccherna* 883. *Dal 1513 Luglio 1 al 1514 Giugno 30.*

1514 Giugno 30. p. 47 e seg.

[For the feast of the B. Ambrogio Sansedoni.¹ ?]

Marchese di Mantua—*Unus equus armellinus iuvenis. Item, unus equus dictus Ciamarone baius sfacciatus.*

Domini Camerini—*Unus equus armellinus vetus.*

Magnifici Capitanei—*Unus equus baius dictus Rubicone sfacciatus*—Ragazius, Battaglius porta el paglio a casa.

from the City (?). There were originally theatrical representations as well as races, etc., on that day. Whether it was founded on the Saint's actual return, as tradition states, or later, is not absolutely certain ; but in this connection it is immaterial. Cf. W. Heywood, *Palio and Pontecit*, chap. iv. pp. 68-81. Alessandro d' Ancona, *Origini del Teatro Italiano*, vol. i. chap. ix. pp. 100-105. Torino : Loescher, 1891.

¹ It is to be observed that there is *no date* to this entry ; it is on a loose sheet pasted on the back of p. 47 ; "*1513 Marzo*" being written on the bottom in blue pencil by some modern archivist. Moreover, the names of the owners are ranged above, and not alongside, their horses.

Reverendissimus Cardinalis de patucciis—*Equus leardus sfacciatus cum F in facie dextera.*

Item, unus equus baius sfacciatus.

Del Marchese della Sassetta—*Unus equus seginatus rubeus.*

Augustini de Bardis—*Unus equus morellus cum fregio*
—*Ragazio, Ha paura di essere l'ultimo.*

1513.

Inferius describentur et notabuntur omnes et singuli barbari qui current bravium in festo sancte Marie Magdalene.¹ In primis.

Marchio Mantue—*Unus equus leardus sfregiatus borcardus de Marchese Mantuae—Luchas Calchagnius—*Che non può manchare, *Ragazius.*

Capitaneus Platee—*Unus equus pili bai sfacciatus sfregiatus cum signo F in cossia—*Porta el palio a casa, *Ragazius.*

Reverendissimus Cardinalis de Petruccijs—*Unus equus leardus pomellatus sfacciatus cum F in pede dextero et in facie dextera—*Scharamucca, *Ragazius.*

Eiusdem—*Item unus equus saurus sfacciatus cum F in cossia dextera—*Vinceguerra, *Ragazius.*

Ducis Urbini²—*Unus equus pili bay sfacciatus sfregiatus et balzanus pedis sinistri—*Vulpinus, *Ragazius.*

Ducis Urbini—*Unus equus leardus pomellatus in rubeo cum F in massella dextera cum graticula in spina—*Spera in Dio, *Ragazius.*

1513.

Inferius describuntur omnes et singuli barbari qui current bravium in festo sancte Marie Augusti.³

¹ July 22nd (?)

² Afterwards struck out.

³ Comparing this list with the second of those quoted above, it seems probable that the former refers to this August Palio rather than to the March one. Most of the owners are the same; and so materially are the descriptions of the horses.

Armellino giovane } Marchionis Mantue.
Armellino vecchio }
Baius Rubicone—Magnifice Capitanei platee.
Equus leardus sfacciatus cum } Reverendissimi Domini
signo F. in face dextera } Cardinalis.
Alter equus baius sfacciatus }
Equus sagginatus rubeus—Marchisio Sassette.
Equus morellus—Augustini Bardi.
Equus leardus—Sodome.

Biccherna 884. 1514 Luglio 4—Xmbre 22.

Die xxx. Martii MDXIIIJ.

Inferius describentur et notabuntur omnes et singuli barbari currentes ad bravium Sancti Ambrosii.

Simonetti de Cortonio—*Unus equus baius . . . balzanus in pede retro et sfacciatus*—Ragazzius, porta accasa.

Reverendissimi Cardinalis de Petrucciis—*Unus equus leardus pomellatus cum cruce ignea in fronte*—Ragazzius, Vulpinus.

Magnifici Capitanei Platee—*Unus equus leardus muscatus*—Ragazzius, Sperone di gallo.

Francisci de Petrucciis—*Unus equus baius cum stella in fronte sfacciatus in ore*—Ragazzius, Non volevo cianciavo.

Rapphaelis Tegrini de Lucca—*Unus equus leardus pomellatus moscatus balzanus ante et retro*—Ragazzius, gattinello.

Sodome—*Unus equus leardus moscatus*—Ragazzius, Batista.¹

Sodome—*Unus equus morellus*—Ragazzius, Betto.¹

Die xviiiij. Aug^{ti}, 1514.

Item decreverunt citari cum cedula et sub pena libras 25 den. Johanes Antonius alias Sodoma² quod per prima ora iuridica comparere deberet legitime coram eis, et com-

¹ For some reason an early scribe—apparently the original clerk—has enclosed these two entries in a bracket.

² In the margin, "*Sodoma*."

miserunt Io Batista nuptio, qui retulit citasse die xxij. augusti.

Die xxij augusti, dicti Domini Quatuor visa inobedientia dicti Iohannis Antonii decreverunt condemnari et condemnauerunt, etc.

Die vj octubris. Et decreverunt concedi capturam Bargelli realiter et personaliter Iohannis Antonii alias il Sodoma¹ pro libris xxv den. pro condemnatione inobedientie jam facte, etc.

"It is to be observed that none of these races were run in the Piazza, but probably, in most cases, over the same course as continued to be used for the Palio of August 15th up to the time of its abolition. And in this connection it is well to record the fact that neither in the XVIth century nor afterwards had the *Contrade* any connection whatever with the promotion or management of those ancient Palii which were run annually on the Festivals of S. Mary of Mid-August, of San Pietro Alessandrino, of St. Mary Magdalene, and the Sant' Ambrogio Sansedoni. These were under the exclusive control of the Commune, and, whatever may have been the custom at an earlier period, the horses which took part in them from the XVth century onwards ran without riders, even as they do to-day in the Roman races and in the Palio of Acquapendente."—*Our Lady of August and the Palio of Siena*, by William Heywood. Siena: Torrini. 1899, pp. 164-5.

No. 14.

Articles of Apprenticeship entered into on behalf of MATTEO DI GIULIANO BALDUCCI of Città della Pieve with "CAVALIERE GIOVANNI ANTONIO DA VERZÈ."

1516-17. 11 di Gennaio.

ARCH. NOT. PROV. SIENA. *Rogiti di Ser Alessandro di Ser Francesco Umani*² ad annum. Rep. A, Busta No. 337. (In the margin *M^o. J^o. Ant^o. pictore.*)

Al nome di Dio, a dì xi. di Gennajo MDXVI.

Noto sia et manifesto, come oggi questo dì detto di sopra Lorenzo di Giuliano di Lorenzo di Balduccio maestro di legname, habitante in Castel de la Pieve, alocasi per garzone *Matteo di Giuliano* (suo fratello carnale³) con messere *Giovanni Antonio da Verzè dipintore, et cavaliere*, habitante nella città di Siena, per tempo di anni

In the margin, "*Sodome.*" ² See end of document. ³ In the margin.

sei proximi cominciati a Santa Maria d' Agosto proxima passata MDXVI., et da finire con questi pati modi et conditioni infrascritti, cioè :

Imprima che per li primi due anni detto Lorenzo a nome di detto *Matteo* suo fratello sia obligato dare et pagare al detto Messer *Giovanni Antonio* ducati vinti di carlini, da pagharsi per detto Lorenzo al detto Messer *Giovanni Antonio* per tempo di anni quattro, da incominciarsi a Santa Maria d' Agosto proxima passata, et da finire come segue, et da inde in là a posta et volontà di detto Messer *Giovanni Antonio*. Et in detti sei anni, detto Messer *Giovanni Antonio* sia obligato darli le spese, calzarlo et vestirlo convenientemente, seconda che all' una parte et l' altra raconciarà, et promisenene bene l' uno coll' altro ; et insegnarli l' arte del dipèngiare come se ricerca farsi al detto Messer *Giovanni Antonio*. Et talora che il detto *Matteo* si partisse, prima che fussero finite detti sei anni, per colpa et difetto di detto *Matteo* ; detto *Matteo* et Lorenzo suo fratello siano obligati satisfare al detto Messer *Giovanni Antonio* d' ogni spese danni et interesse.

Et io Alexandro di Ser Francesco notaro senese (come persona privata¹), di volontà delle sopradette parti (ho fatta la presente scriptura¹), li quali si sottoscrivaranno di loro propria mano di così essare, come è. Et perchè detto Lorenzo non sa scrivere, Anselmo di Renaldo genovese si sottoscriverà per detto Lorenzo.

E io *Giovane Antonio* sò contento quanto de sopra ; e per fede mi so' soschrito de mia propria mano.

E io *Anselmo* mi so' sotto ischrito di mia propria mano, per detto Lorenzo, perchè disse non sapere iscrivere.

E io *Mateio* so' contencito quato di sopra ; e però me so' sotschrito di mia propopia (*sic*) mano.

NOTE.—According to the present arrangement in the ARCH. NOT. PROV. SIENA, this document is to be found under UMANI: *Ser Alessandro di Ser Francesco d' Antonio di Lucignano in Val di Chiana* ; not *Ser Alessandro di Ser Francesco MARTINI*, as Milanese prints it.

¹ In the margin.

No. 15.

Abstract from the accounts of money expended on the Paintings in the Oratory of the Confraternity of St. Bernardino in Siena.

ARCH. DI STATO DI SIENA. *Carte della detta Compagnia, Reg. 221, f. 39.*¹

Xo M.DXVIIIJ,

Le istorie di nostra chompagnia diem dare, addi ultimo di dicembre duc, otto si fanno buoni per loro a *Girolamo* di maestro *Giovanni* dipentore per la istoria de l' Angiolo che annunzia la Vergine, a Lui in questo c. 41.

d. 8, L. lvj, sol.

El dì, duc. dieci si fanno buoni per loro a *Girolamo* detto, che sonno per la sua manifattura de la istoria de l' Anunziata, a lui in questo c. 41. d. 10, L. lxx, sol.

El dì, duc. venticinque faci in buoni per loro a *Girolamo* detto, che sonno per sua manifattura de la istoria de la Nattivita de la Vergine fatto è più dì fa, e sonno a lui in questo c. 41 . . . d. 25, L. clxxv, sol.

El dì, duc. trenta facian buoni per loro a *Domenicho* di *Iachomo* di *Pacie* dipentore che sonno per la sua manifattura de la istoria de lo sponsalio de la Vergine Maria, in questo c. 41 . . . d. 30, L. ccx, sol.

El dì, duc. trenta si fanno buoni a Messer *Giov. Antonio* detto *Soddoma* per sua manifattura de la istoria de l' oferta del tempio de la Vergine Maria, fatta più dì fa, in questo c. 42 . . . d. 30, L. ccx, sol.

El dì, duc. trentacinque si fanno buoni a messer *Giovannantonio* detto, che sonno per sua manifattura de la istoria de la' ncoronazione de la Vergine Maria, fatta più dì fa, in questo c. 42 . . . d. 35, L. ccxlv, sol.

¹ All these entries appear in duplicate, divided off under the heads of their respective artists at the pages indicated, and (except the last entry of payment to Bazzi, which is to be found, at p. 242, as follows: "*Al Sodoma cavaliere a d' 16 di Giugno Lire sedici per Mano di Ristoro di Giomo Monigi come scritto sopra a f. 39*") are in the same handwriting.

On p. 42, under the separate account of money paid to Bazzi, he is described as *Miss. Giovannantonio DE TIZONI detto il Soddoma pittore da Verzè*: but nowhere else in the entire account.

El dì, duc. trenta si fanno buoni a *Domenicho* di *Iachomo* di *Pace* dipentore da Siena per sua manifattura de la istoria del Transito de la Vergine Maria, fatta più dì fa cho a lui in questo c. 41 . . . d. 30, L. ccx, sol.

El dì, duc. dieci si fanno buoni per loro a misser *Giovannantonio* detto *Soddoma* che sonno per sua manifattura de la istoria di Sancto Francesco a la finestra, fatti più dì fa, in questo c. 42 . . . d. 10, L. lxx, sol.

El dì, duc. quattordici si fanno buoni a misser *Giovannantonio* detto per sua manifattura de la storia di Santo Lodovicho cho la finestra insieme, fatta più dì fa, in questo c. 42 . . . d. 14, L. lxxxviiij, sol.

El dì, duc. otto si fanno buoni a misser *Giovannantonio* detto, che sonno per sua manifattura de la istoria di Santo Antonio de Padova, fatta più dì fa, a lui in questo c. 42. . . d. 8, L. lvj, sol.

El dì, duc. otto si fanno buoni per loro a *Girolamo* di maestro *Giovanni* dipentore per sua manifattura de la istoria di Santo Bernardino fatta più dì fa, d' achordo a lui, in questo c. 41 . . . d. 8. L. lvj, sol.

1532.

E a dì xvj di Giugno L. sedici, sol. paghati al *Sodoma* dipentore sonno per resto sua fadigha e manifatura de la storia de l' Asunta e con achordo Girolamo del Monigi come si vede a uscita di Ser Girolamo d' Arigho in questo a fo. 242 . . . d. 2. L. xvj. sol.

No. 16.

Letter of CAVALIER GIOVANNI ANTONIO SODONA to FRANCESCO GONZAGA, MARQUESS OF MANTUA, offering his Excellency a picture.

ARCH. DI STATO IN MANTOVA. 1518, 3 Maggio.

Illustrissime Domine Domine, mi Colendissime salute.
Passando pochi giorni fa per Siena andando a Roma il

Signore * Aloisi, el fratello parente di V. Ill. S., degnandosi advenire alla mia * stanza, andando per il giardino a spasso gli dissi che harei desiderio che quella havesse qualche memoria di servitù de l'opere mie. Lui mi disse che facendo un quadro con una Nostra Donna et col Puttino et San Francesco, vi sarebbe graditissimo. Harei caro meglio intendere se altro desiderio Quella havessi, et in questa state, Deo favente, verrò a visitare V.* Ill. Sig^{ria} et porterò meco il decto quadro. Feci una Lucretia per V. Ill. S. et venendo a presentarla a quella fu veduta in Fiorenza dal Magnifico Giuliano, et fui sforzato a lassarla. Priegho V. Ill. S. si degni infallanter un minimo verso farmi intendere il desiderio di Quella, et io sempre sono prontissimo a piacere di Quella: la quale Dio lungo tempo felicitì.

E.D.V.S. Die *iii. Maii mdxxviii.*

IO. ANTONIUS SODONA (*sic*) Eques Senis.

(*Address*).

Illmo. D. D. Francesco de Gonzaga Marchioni Mantue
Domino suo observandissimo, Mantue.

No. 16A.

From the same with a similar object to ALFONSO D'ESTE, DUKE
OF FERRARA.

ARCH. ESTENSE [DI STATO] IN MODENA. 1518, 3
Maggio.

Illustrissime Domine Domine, mi Colendissime, post humilem Comendationem. Salute. Questa per fare intendere come già tempo fa, essendo io con la Santità di Papa Leone a Fiorenza, il vostro Ambasciadore mi dette commessione per Vostra S. dovessi fare un San Giorgio a cavallo quando amazò la Vip^a, unde io l'ho fatto et tengholo ad instantia di quella. Pochi giorni fa, non longe da Siena, a caso trovai lo spetiale della Colonna ferrarese vostro

* This document is in excellent condition except for the erasures at the points marked.

famigliare et a lui dissi ill tutto, come decto quadro sta a reqsitione (*sic*) di quella. Et lui disso dirlo a V. Illma. Signoria.

Spero in questa estate conferimi per infino al Marchese di Mantova perchègli ò a fare certi quadri, et per aventura verrò per infino a visitare V. Illma. S. et porterò meco il decto quadro. Priegho quella se havessi intento d'altra cosa . . . sandomene (?) un minimo verso ni sarà gratisimo per fare cosa che piaccia a V. Illma. S. alla quale humilnte (*sic*) mi raccomando, et Dio quello, lungo tempo felicità.

Die iij. Maii M.D. xvij. E.D.V.S.

IO. ANTONIUS SODONA, Eques Senis.

(*Address*).

Illmo. Domino Domino Alfosio de Este Duce Ferrarie
Domino suo observandissimo. Ferrarie.

NOTE.—This document had been badly burnt before it was transferred, in the sixteenth century, from Ferrara to Modena.

No. 17.

Extracts from the accounts of the Confraternity of S. GIOVANNI BATTISTA DELLA MORTE.

ARCH. DI STATO DI SIENA, ARCHIVIO DEL PATRIMONIO DEI RESTI ECCLESIASTICI. *Compagnia di S. Giovanni Battista della Morte*, Reg. E. III. 816, fol. 84.

Christo 1526.

Uscita di me Girolamo di Giovanni delle Seghe, camarlengo di detta Compagnia di dî primo di Gienaio, et prima.

A dî 11 di detto sol : quatro a fachini cioè 2, portano el cataletto a dipegnare al Sodoma . . . lire . . . , sol : 4.

A dî 14 di detto lire quatordecì sol : dieci in uno dopione d'oro dato al Sodoma per el cataletto me li prestò Pietro Paolo Veri non oli a renovare . . . lire 14. sol : 10.

A dî 19 di detto lire vintiuna sol : sette per 3 porci datti a Giovaant° detto el Sodoma per conto del Cataletto

lire 21. sol : 7.

A dì detto lire quatro per uno staio di sale s'ebe dal monte, come e a'ntrata in'questo a detto Sodoma

lire 4. sol : . . .

* * * * *

A dì 14 di feraio sol : venticinque a Sodoma in uno quinterno di fogli reali et uno mezzani fini a lui propio d' accordo

lire 1. sol : 5.

A dì 15 di detto lire sette sol : . . . chontanti a Giovaant° detto Sodoma per el cataletto . . . lire 7. sol : . . .

A dì 21 di detto sol : vinti dati a maestro Lorenzo di Guaspere maestro di legname per resto del cataletto

lire 1. sol : .

* * * * *

A dì 11 di detto (Marzo) sol. sette chontanti cioè uno paio di tavole, dato al Sodoma d' accordo lire . . sol : 7.

A dì 20 di Marzo lire sette chontanti in uno schudo dato a Giovaant° detto Sodoma ebi da Polito ceraiole e sono a entrata lire 7. sol : . . .

Christo 1527. (f. 84^t-85.)

A dì 26 di Marzo lire quattordici chontanti al Sodoma cioè per lui e sua chomixione, a Girolamo di Buoninsegna zedadaio, disse per azuri aveva auto da lui

lire 14. sol : . . .

* * * * *

A dì 26 di detto (Aprile) lire quatro sol : in una soma di vino dato al Sodoma ebe per mia comexione da Ypolito ceraiole d'acordo e soma entrata in questo

lire 4. sol : . . .

E a dì 27 di detto una altra soma di vino vermiglio al sopra detto Sodoma, da Ypolito per nostra comexione d'acordo e sono a entrata lire 4. sol : . . .

* * * * *

Al Sodoma dipentore a dì 29 d'Aprile sol. cinquanta-
cinque de Ypolito ceraioło per mia comexione

lire 2. sol : 15.

* * * * *

E a dì 4 di Maggio lire sette in uno scudo di sole al
Sodoma per comexione d' Alixandro Umidi operaro

lire 7. sol : . . .

E a dì 18 di maggio lire 3 sol. sedici chontanti al
Sodoma per finire la soma di denari 13 cioè

lire 3. sol : 16.

E a dì 25 di detto lire tre sol : dieci chontanti a misser
Giovaant° detto

lire 3. sol : 10.

E a dì 27 di detto lire tre sol : dieci chontanti a misser
Giovaant° detto Sodoma per el cataletto

lire 3. sol : 10.

E a dì 14 di detto sol : quarantanove per feri, chiavarde
e bullatte per el cataletto per comexione di Bartolomeo
proveditore disse

lire 2. sol : 9.

Reg. C.I.

(On loose and dilapidated sheet between pp. 125 and
126) (Modern numbering 804²).

Misser Giovannantonio detto el Sodoma de' avere a di
27 di Maggio lire novantoto, e quali sonno per dipintura
del cataletto nuovo che lui ci dipense

lire lxxxxviii.

No. 18.

*Extracts from the Accounts of the Confraternity of S. SEBAS-
TIANO IN CAMOLLIA.*

ARCH., DETTO. ARCHIVIO DEL PATRIMONIO ECCLESIA-
STICO. *Libro d' Entrata e Uscita della detta Compagnia detto.*
Reg. C. I. a. c. 38^b. 1525, 3 Maggio. 1531, 6 Novembre.

Msere (*sic*) Giovantognio cavaliere, detto el Sodamo,
dipentore die avere a dì 3 di Mago (*sic*) 1525 duchatti
vinti di lire sette per ducatto e quello più che vorà M°
Antognio di . . . barbiere : e quali ducati vinti s' obrigha
a fare il ghonfalone per andare a procizione, in questo

modo: da un lato un Sa' Bastiano leghato a uno arboloco quatro che lo saettino e un angiolo che lo coroni; co e paese e colori fini e oro sicondo richiede, a gudizio di buoni maestri e da l' altro lato la Nostra Dona col suo figliolo i' colo (in collo) e San Rocho e Sa' Gismondo con 2 battenti e paesi e coloro (*sic*) fini, sicondo che richiede; con suo' drapeloni. E la Compagnia ha dare el panolino a suo modo, e ogni altra cosa ci à metare di suo; e deba esser alto bracca quatro, compresa e larcho braca tre compresa, come n' apare úna scrita di mano di Pierantognio Pacineli e testimoni . . . el quale sa obrigha darcelo la vigili (*sic*) di el Corpus Domine.

El sopradetto meser *Giovantognio*, detto el *Sodoma*, fu finito di pagare al tempo di Matteo Fraschini nel suo priorato d' ogni suo resto, e cosí s'è sotto schrito di sua mano nel 1532 ed ebbe per resto ducati 4 di muneta.

Christo 1531 6 Novembre.

Missere Giovantonio Chavaliere, detto Soddoma, dipentore, die avere a dì vj. di Novembre ducati vinti di lire sette per ducato, quali den: sonno per sua fadigha e manifattura del nostro Ghonfalone che lui ci à fatto più tenpo fa, chòme ve n' era scritta di mano di Pier Ant° Paccinelli chon più chapitoli e chonvenzioni e di tutto questo n' aviamo fatto achordo e doviamoli dare quel più che giudicharà M° Ant° di (Pasquino) barbiere chome di tutto quello giudicharà metteremo creditore qui dabbasso lire 140.

E die avere addì detto ducati sei di lire sette per ducato quali ducati giudicha M° A° barbiere si li debbi dare, oltre a li scudi xx. di sopra perchè lui n' à preso parere di chosi lui meritare, chosì siamo rimasti d' achordo questo di detto lire 42.

E die avere a dì detto ducati quatro di lire sette per ducato, quali ducati si li fa buoni per diliberazione del chapitolo che lui ci à servito bene e diligentemente del detto gonfalone e siamone rimasti d' achordo: chosì lui si

chiama chontento del detto credito per chonto di detto ghonfalone e più non domandarà; e per fede del vero detto Maestro *Gionant*^o si sottoscrivarà di chosì essere chontento lire 28.

Io mise *giovane antonio* sopradetto so' contento a quanto di sopra si contiene, e per fede ò schrito de mano propria.¹

Christo 1525. (fo. 39.)

Misere Giovantognio deto Sodoma dipetore di ricontra, de' dare a dì 3 di Mago lire vintotto sol: dieci, sono i due schudi e u'dopione bolognese d' oro ungharo, lire 28 sol: 10, e sono a sie la'scita so'scriti di sua ma' de quali ne dete maestro Antongnio . . . barbiere, uno schudo e u'dopione e una schudo ò dato io Bernardino di Pietro Macini, oparaio de quali de la compagnia e sono a mia uscita a f. 33 e questo maestro Antongnio el de di suo lire 28. sol: 10.

* * * * *

E die dare a dì 20 di gienaio lire quattordici sol o, dati a Bernardino di Pietro Macini che li dese al detto misere Giovianatognio per parte di detto gonfalone e sono a mia uscita di me Domenicho di Simone, camarlengo a f. . .
lire 14. sol: . .

E a dì 25 di Marzo 1526 lire sette sol: . . contanti a maestro Antonio Barbieri uno de li oparai, dise per dare a maestro Giovanant^o dipentore per conto deso gonfalone, sono a me Camarlengo Gerolamo di M^o Mariano a mio conto affo: 37. lire 7. sol: . .

Christo 1531. (fo. 51^t.)

Missere Giovant^o chavalieri alias Sodoma alinchontra die dare addi vj di novembre ducati quindici di l. 7. per ducato quali denari ha hauti ni più volte de la chonpagnia, chome di tutto ce ne una scritta di mano di detto missere Giovanant^o, quale anulliamo per essare messi detti denari qui lire 105. sol: . .

¹ These receipts are in Bazzi's autograph.

E die dare addì detto, ducati quattro di l. 7 per ducato, quali denari ce li fa buoni per Quiricho, detto Piccino bechaio, per charne auta da lui piu tempo fa, e so'a Quiricho, che debbi aver in questo a fo : . . . lire 28, sol : . .

E die dare a dì detto lire vintotto sol : . . . chontanti al sopradetto misser Giovantonio, quali denari glie li chonto Chornelio di Giovanni camarlengo, allui in questo, a fo. 66 lire 28, sol : . .

E io miser Giovane Antonio o receuto li sopra deti denari, come di sopra.¹

E pagato in tutto no se ne parlli più.

No. 19.

The Affidavits of "GIOVANNI ANTONIO DIPENTORE" and GIOVANNI DI LORENZO appended to a petition made by DOMENICO BECCAFUMI.

ARCH. NOT. PROV. SIENA. *Rogiti di Ser Girolamo Ottaviani. Filza degli Atti della Mercanzia.*

1527. 4 di Settembre (Dicembre ?)

Extract.

"Io Miser Giovane Antonio depentore e omo e albitro chiamato dali Signori Oficiali Quatro de Bicerna a stimare e vedere e lavori fati da *Domenico* dipentore a miser Francesco Petrucci, li quali insieme con *Giovani di Lorenzo* dipentore omo de deto maestro *Domenico* ; li quali veduti stimamo doverseni meritare ducati cento setanta cinque cioè duc : 175 e per fede ò fato questo de mia propria mano questo dì quatro di settembre 1527."

The following version of the above is given to illustrate the photograph of the artist's handwriting in *La Scrittura di Artisti Italiani* (edited by Carlo Pini, with notes and explanations by G. Milanese, vol. ii. p. 140: Firenze, 1876).

"Io Miser Giovane Antonio depentore e omo e albitro chiamato dali Signior oficiali quatro de bicerna a stimare e vedere e lavori fati da domenico depentore a miser francesco petruci : li quali insieme con giovani di lorenzo

dipentore omo de deto maestro domenico : li quali veduti, stimiamo doverseni meritare ducati cento setanta cinque, cioè ducati 175, e per fede o fato questo de mia propria mano, qesto dì quatro di disenbre 1527.¹

“Io giovanni di lorenzo dipentore sopradetto fo fede chome odinanzi ali S. offitiali quatro di bicerna demo el nostro lodo sopra e lavori fatti da maestro domenicho sopradetto a ditto misser francesco petrucci; li quali stimamo ducati cento settantacinque. Cioè ducati clxxv de lire 7 per ciaschuno, a tutte spese di maestro domenico sopradetto e questo facemo al tempo di iacomo borghesi priore di detti offitiali; e per tanto ò fatto questa di mia mano, questo dì detto.”

Of this picture by Beccafumi for Francesco Petrucci nothing further can be found. Nor do we know exactly where the Petrucci residence was. Perhaps it was the palace once belonging to the Agostini family and now to the Bindi-Sergardi. This palace is believed to have once belonged to a branch of the Petrucci.

No. 20.

Statement of property removed from the studio of “MESSER GIOVANNI ANTONIO detto EL SODOMA” by GIROLAMO FRANCESCO MAGAGNI.

ARCH. NOT. PROV. SIENA. *Processi del 1529.*

20 di Luglio.

Anno Domini 1529. Indictione II. die vero xx. Julii.

Girolamo di Francesco barbiere costituito, etc. dixè, che de comessione di Messer Giovanni Antonio decto el Sodoma dipentore, del presente mese in diversi giorni et volte insieme con Gianni Scricciolo figliuolo del Palachino da Vulterra è intrato e stato in casa di decto *Soddoma*, et di casa di decto et de la camara de la quale esso Giomo

¹ It should be noted that Sig. Milanese in his *Documenti* has apparently mistaken the month, and since the original document has unaccountably disappeared, there is no means of verification but by the photograph.

dixe havere havuto la chiave, et elsi (*sic*) le chiavi de' goffani del prefato chavaliero, *amalato in Firenze in S. Maria Nuova al 42° lecto*; et di esse ne ha tratte le infrascritte robbe, e quelle ha asportate di giorno in casa sua parte, et parte in casa del suo cognato, etc.

Imprima le cose portate in casa di esso *Girolamo*.

Uno Appolline di bronzo di gitto.

Tre scatole longhe piene di bronzi tragittati in diverse figure et animali.

Una cassetтина piena di lavori di bosso, et altri legnami facti al torno.

Una scatola piena di medaglie di bronzo in cassetтини al torno.

Uno gruppo di carte dentrovi più medaglie di bronzo.

Uno cassetтino a guisa di bossoletto, pieno fra medaglie di argento di più sorte, una granocchina di litropia et una fava d' India; et altre cose de la quali dixे non ricordarsi.

Una tegola con impressioni di due animali senza gambe, di terra.

Uno piè di femina intero, di marmo.

Un mezo piè di femina intero, dove sonno le dita.

Una testuccia di vechio senza naso, di marmo.

Una testa di lionе ch'à manco una mascella.

Una testa col busto di donna senza naso, di marmo.

Una testa di gesso di donna.

Una scatola con uno nichio di matreperla.

Uno corpo di marmo senza braccia et gambe.

Uno corpo di cera con le coscie senza altri membri.

Uno pezo di marmo drentovi un mezo angelo con una maza in mano.

Una testa di puttino di terra in profilo.

Uno piè di marmo rialto che si posa con la puncta de le dita.

Un altro piè di marmo, qual posa tucto.

Due pezzi di vasi di terra cotta uno, et uno di gesso formati a l'antiquo.

Due macinelli da macinare colori di porfido.

Due saccucce da pelle di balestro, dentrovi delle sopradette scatole.

Uno scatolone con uno libro stampato, et *uno libro scripto a mano che tracta di pictura*.

Uno libro di nigromatia con più lettere et scripture, tucte drento in decto scatolone.

Una scatola con più sorte di colori, et con uno cavallo di bronzo.

Uno puttino di piombo.

Uno ignudo di terra cotta senza testa antiquo con una coscia sola.

Quali tucte robbe com più altre figure, et altre cose da pictori noscose in uno chiasseto da tenere polli fra esso la casa sua et Tommaso del Vaia coperti con rochioni.

Una tegola di terra antiqua drentovi uno mercole con uno toro et una donna con polli in uno bastone, quale dixè haverla portata in casa di Madonna (Beatrice) donna di decto chavalliere in Valleriozi.

Le infrascritte robbe sonno in casa di Niccolò spadaio suo cognato.

Una carpita nuova.

Una spera di quadro col telaio.

Uno quadro di braccio incirca con una Nostra Donna con el figliuolo in collo che sposa Santa Caterina, con uno Santo Hieronimo non finito.

Una testa di Santo Giovanni in uno quadro di legno.

Una coperta di sciamito, azurro, et giallo, quale dixè haverla impegnata al iudeo sold : 21 in nome suo.

Io miser *Giovane Antonio* ò riceuto questo dì sei de Agosto 1529 le sopra dete chose.

Item dixè havere in casa sua una spada fornita d'argento et uno pugnale.

Item dixè havere in casa di decto cavaliere più disegni e ritratti in una cassetta de la quale esso *Girolamo* ha la chiave.

Una balestra da pallozole di acciaio fornita di osso.

NOTE.—In March—April 1903 the author made a most elaborate search for this document, for the above quoted *Supplica* of Beccafumi, and for Riccio's Will (a reference to which is given in Milanesi's MS. Notes), but with no result. It is suggested that they either have disappeared in the various vicissitudes that since Milanesi's day have occurred to the Sienese Archives, or,—as was formerly permitted,—been borrowed by some student for private examination, and either never restored, or returned to some place in which they are now hidden, and may lie for years yet to come. For the present, however, further search is fruitless.

NO. 21.

Entries of payments, etc., in various registers of the Commune of Siena as to the work executed by GIOVANNI ANTONIO BAZZI in the Sala del Mappamondo in the Palazzo Pubblico.

[The student will observe that these notices, being taken from different official registers, should be read contemporaneously. The *Deliberazioni* indeed appear to have been kept in a quasi-duplicate form. Some of the entries have been already extracted and published; whilst others are here printed for the first time.]

ARCH. DI STATO SIENA. *Concistoro Deliberazioni ad annum.*
1529.

Die xij septembris.

III^{mi} D. D. Priores, Capitaneus populi etc. convocati etc. Simili modo mandaverunt solvi per Camerarium Consistorii Domino. *Io Antonio Sobdoma* lib. 42 den. pro parte eius salarii picture Sancti Victorii *in sala de le balestre.*

Die xxj septembris, Martis.

Et Audito Domino *Io. Antonio* alias *Sobdoma* pictore petente sibi satis fieri salarium pro pictura Sancti Victorii per eum facta, servatis etc. voluerunt eidem solvi quicquid per duos pictores, eligendos unum per Consistorium et alterum per eum, iudicatum fuerit; de quo detrahatur id quod huiusque sibi solutum est. Et statim eligit Consistorium per plures voces. Magistrum *Dominicum . . .* alias *Mecuccium.*

Die 26 septembris, Solis.

Et visa extimatione data per Magistrum *Mecuccium* et magistrum *Davit* pictores supra pictura Sancti Victorii ac suis ornamentis factis per *Sobdomam* quia nimis excedere iudicis eorum honestum pretium visa est eis servatis etc., voluerunt per Magnificum Priorem et Capitaneum populi intelligi et informationem haberi a magistro *Baldassarre* architectore et pictore de valore et extimatione eiusdem. Et casu quo in parva quantitate discrepet extimationem ipsius a predictis, solvatur dicto *Sobdome* iuxta extimationem prefatorum 2 pictorum, que est ducata 27 auri, si autem in magna, nova provisio fiat.

Die prima octubris, Veneris.

Ill^{mi}. ac Ex^{si}. domini domini Priores etc. et Capitaneus populi etc. convocati etc. mandaverunt solvi domino *Io Antonio Sobdome* pictori lib. 50 den. pro parte eius salarij pro pictura sancti Victorii ad bonum computum et decretum fieri Camerario Consistorii.

Die viiij octubris.

Mandaverunt etiam solvi Domino *Io. Antonio* alias *Sobdome* pictori lib. septuaginta den. sen. pro parte eius salarij picture Sancti Victorij ad bonum computum et fiat decretum Camerario Consistorii, et actento quod non habet in presentiarum denarius Magnificus Lapis solvat et in cautionem suam detur ei collana argentea Capitanei Cuicii etc.

Die xxvij octubris, Mercurij.

Ill^{mi}. ac Ex^{si}. domini domini Priores et Capitaneus populi etc. convocati mandaverunt solvi domino *Io. Antonio Sobdome* lib. sexaginta octo den. pro omni residuo ducata 27 auri solis, eius salario picture Sancti Victorii *in sala de le balestre*, et decreverunt, etc.¹

¹ Cf. *Nuovi Documenti cit.*, p. 446, No. 222.

ARCH. DI STATO. *Scritture Concistoriali, Filza 41. Notula ai successori della Signoria del 1529.*

30 Agosto 1529.

Item si sonno condannati li infrascritti beccarii per loro trasgressioni ne le sottoscrisste pene sara bene di risquotarle, le quali sonno attribuite a la pictura de la sala de le balestre, cavatonela parte ne pervenisse alli Quattro Maestri del Sale.

Li nomi de' quali sono questi, cioè :—

Arcangiolo detto il Manzo . . .	lire 8.
Baldassare detto il Guercio . . .	„ 40.
„ „ il Belloso . . .	„ 40.
Bernardino detto el Possa . . .	„ 40.
Carlo.	„ 40.
Pietro Serumtino	„ 40.

31 Agosto 1529.

Item si e dato principio nella Sala delle Balestre fa dipingere due belle figure cioè una die Sancto Vectorio, e l'altra di Sancto Ansano per le mani del Sodoma, e per tale opera si li è dato già scudi nove, cioè lire sesantatre. Sarà bene mandarla a fine.¹

2 Settembre 1529.

Che sieno citati li infrascritti macellari et comparsi, subito se li facci precepto, che non partino di palazzo se non pagate per loro le condannagioni facte per li precessori come di sotto, cioè :—

Arcangiolo detto Manzo . . .	lire 8.
Baldassare „ Guercio . . .	„ 40.
„ „ il Belloso . . .	„ 40.
Bernardino „ el Possa . . .	„ 40.
Carlo.	„ 40.
Pietro Serumtino	„ 40.

Belloso et Pietro conparendo furo liberati promettendo l' uno per l' altro di presentarsi lunedì o pagare testimoni Pamiale et Jacomo donzelli.

21 Settembre.

Che'l Consistoro chiami uno pictore et uno altro il Sobdoma che stimino la pictura di Sancto Victorio facta per decto Sodoma et tanto se li dia et quello da chiamarsi per il Consistorio faccisi per le più voci.

MAESTRO MECARINO } Pictori.
MAESTRO BARTOLOMEO DI DAVID }

Valuation made by DOMENICO DI PACE (BECCAFUMI) and BARTOLOMMEO DI DAVID, of the fresco of S. Victor.

In Dei nomine questo d' 23 di Settembre, 1529.

Noi *Domenicho* di *Pacie* et *Bartolomeo* di *Davit*, dipentori, omini elletti aiudichare una opera fatta per Misser *Giovanni Ant^o* dipentore i' nel Palazzo della magnifica Signoria, cioè uno Santo Vittorio dipento a chapo la porta i ne la Sala del Mapa-Mondo chol suo ornamento intorno aquello fatto: Per la qual chosa io *Domenicho* sopradetto per li Magnifici Signori eletto, e per el sopradetto misser *Giovanni Antonio*, *Bartolomeo* di *Davitti* sopradetto, insieme ristetti (*sic*); avendo ben chonsiderato dicta opera, gudichiamo (*sic*) di quella meritarsi schudi vinti sete d' oro larghi. E per fede io *Domenicho* sopradetto offatta questa di mia mano: el qual *Bartolommeo* di *Davitti* sottoscrivarrà, affermando. Intendendosi ditto prezo essere pachamento di detta opera a tutte spese di detto Misser *Giovan^o*, cioè d' oro cholori aricimento (arricciamento), scialbo e calcina e ponti ec.

E io Bartolomè de Davitti sopradetto afermo a quanto di sopra si chontiene.¹

¹ Cf. Milanese, *Documenti, cit.*, tom. iii. p. 112. No. 57.

26 *Settembre.*

Che'l magnifico Priore et magnifico Capitano mandino per maestro Baldassarre architetto, al quale faccino stimare la figura del Sodboma di Sancto Victorio, facta in la sala de le balestre et discrepando pocho de la sua extima et quella de li 2 altri pictori se li dia quello tanto che el detti 2 hanno facto caso che assai si pigli nuovo partito.

30 *Settembre.*

Illustrissimi, etc., excelsi Domini Domini Priores et Capitaneus populi ecc. convocati ecc. Soddome audito detur et solvatur ei usque ad summam librarum 50 denariorum per Camerarium Consistori predicti.

Die prima Octubris.

Sodbome solvantur usque ad summam librarum 50 denariorum.

28 *Febbraio* 1529.

Essi pagato per el Camarlengo nostro al cavaliere Soddoma, scudi sei d' oro larghi oltra di denari havuti da precessori, come a uscita di esso Camarlengo in f: 43, quali se li son dati a buon conto per la pictura di Santo Sano che anco non è finito.¹

Si ha da seguire la pictura di Santo Bernardo per la quale ha havuto già denaro come di tutto ne e' informato lo oparaio del duomo.²

1532.

Il Sogdoma dipentore ha hauti certi denari per dipegnare nella Sala del nappamondo un san Bernardo chome di tutto è informato al magnifico operario del duomo et di già chome si vede è principiato lornamento, sera bene procurare si finisca.

¹ In the margin, *Sogdoma pictori.*

² In the margin, *Pictura di San Bernardo.*

(*On the next page.*)

Misser Gio. Battista (*sic*) dicto il Soddoma ha hauti certi denari per dipegniare nela Sala del nappamondo uno sancto Bernardo come di tutto è informato il magnifico operaro del duomo, sara bene sollecitare si facci dicta pittura.¹

Filza 51. 1533-34.

Ultimamente per havere ancora noi procurato che la pittura del beato Bernardo ne la Sala dele nappamondo fusse finita dal Soddoma dipentore de la quale ne ha già hauto scudi otto si come da precessori nostri ne era stato lassato in notula et havendo esso Soddoma a essere satisfatto del restante di detta opera quale ne ha condotta a perfettione, piacerà a V.S. magnifiche fare che detto Soddoma ha fatto satisfare de la lodevole opera da missere Francesco Tholomei, dignissimo operaio de la Chiesa Cathedrale, si come esso a noi et al detto Soddoma ne ha largamente promesso, il che facendo V.S. Magnifiche ne escitaranno a imprese maggiori di simili ornamenti.²

Concistoro Deliberazioni. Vol. 978.

1529.

Die xii. Septembris. fol. 6^a.

Simili modo mandaverunt solvi domini Joanni Antonio cognomine Sobdoma pictori libras quatragenta duos denariorum videlicet libra 42 pro parte salarii figure et picture Sancti Victorii in Sala de le Balestre, etc.³

Die xxi. Septembris. fol. 13.

Audito etc. domino Johanne Antonio alias Sobdoma pictore petente sibi satisfieri salarium pro pictura Sancti Victorii per eum confecta servatis etc voluerunt eidem

¹ In the margin, *Soddoma*.

² Cf. Milanese, *Documenti cit.*, tom. cit. p. 185.

³ In the margin of each of these, "*Soddoma*."

solvi quicquid per duos pictores fuerit extimatam, quorum unus pro Consistorio eligatur alter ab ipso et statim eligerunt.

Mecucium . . . pictorem.¹

Die 26 Septembris. fol. 15.

Et visa et audita extimatione data per 2 pictores electos unum pro parte Consistorii alterum pro parte Sobdome infrascriptos super valorem picture Sancti Victorii cum suis ornamentis factis per prefatum Sobdomam, que visa est eis excedere nimis honestum pretium servatis etc. in bene esse palatii et etiam justitie satisfactum declaraverunt committere Priori et Capitaneo magnifici qualiter informati accipiant a magistro Baldassarre architeptore et pictore de pretio et valore ipsius picture et referant declarando quod casus quod extimatio dicti 2 et prefati magistri Baldassaris parum differant solvatur dicte Sobdome iuxta extimationem dicti 2 sin satis denuo provideatur omni modo etc.¹

Die prima octobris, fol. 18.

Illustrissimi et Excelsi Domini Domini Priores etc. et Capitaneus populi etc., convocati etc. mandaverunt solvi domino Joanni Antonio alias Sobdome pictori libras quinquaginta denariorum pro parte ejus salarii picture Sancti Victorii ad bonum compotum et decretum etc.¹

Die viiij. octubris, fol. 21.

Jusserunt etiam solvi domino Joanni Antonio Sobdome pictori libras 70 denariorum pro parte salarii picture Sancti Victori ad bonum compotum omni modo etc.¹

Die xxvii. octubris, fol. 28.

Illustrissimi etc. excelsi Domini Domini Priores gubernatores et Capitaneus populi etc. convocati etc. mandaverunt solvi domino Joanni Antonio alias Sobdome pictori

¹ In the margin of each of these, "*Soddoma*."

libras sexaginta octo denariorum per omni residuo scutorum 27 auri solis, salarii ipsius, pro pictura Sancti Victorii cum suis ornamentis in Sala de le balestre quo extimatum fuit et decretum etc.¹

No. 22.

Extract from Gio. Battista Armenini di Faenza. DEI VERI PRECETTI DELLA PITTURA. Ravenna: Francesco Tebaldini, 1587, p. 27.

. . . ragionevole e meraviglioso . . . fu l' accidente ed il valore insieme di Giovan' Antonio da Vercelli Pittor pratico, et molto ingegnoso il quale fu per ciò fatto cavaliere honorato dalla felice memoria di Papa Leon decimo. Costui in Siena dimorandosi, come in sua patria incontrandosi un giorno in uno insolente soldato Spagnuolo ; che era della guardia della Città, perche molto numero di quella gente vi dimorava tuttavia in quel tempo, egli fu dal detto soldato fortemente, e villanescamente oltraggiato, del quale egli non sapendo il nome, nè meno potendo accostarseli per la loro gran turba, à vendicarsi, et perche egli era possente, et di gran core, si stava ivi con animo di risponderli tosto, perchè egli si era al tutto disposto per nessun modo voler patire che la ingiuria ricevuta si dovesse lasciare impunita con poco honor suo, considerato adunque più vie, alfin si risolse dover ciò fare col mezo di quella virtù, con la quale egli era miglior maestro, e più sicuro, e per ciò egli messosi di apiatto, incominciò minutamente a riguardare, et a considerare tutto quello, ch' era in quella effigie di quel Spagnuolo, e tanto fè che per tal via li rimase impresso nellà idea l' istesso naturala di quel volto. Dopo itosone tacitamente à casa si dispose di farlo, onde si mise sopra un suo picciol quadretto, che vi era rimaso, con pennelli, et colori, con molto affetto à formarlo, si chè in breve spatio ogni minuta tinta del natural di quella faccia, con le sue linee, li parve, che gli riuscisse tanto bene, che egli si rimase così contento senza farli altra

¹ In the margin of each of these "*Soddoma*."

fatica intorno : onde per non voler perder tempo à conseguire il suo desiderio, si mise quel ritratto sotto la cappa, e senza fa motto à nessuno, egli solo se ne andò là dove habitava il Prencipe di quei Spagnuoli, e trovato gli espose al meglio che seppe il tutto, dolendosi seco forte dell' ingiurie, ch' egli havea ricevute dalle Spagnuolo predetto, al quale il Prencipe rispose benignamente, che per esservene molti, egli cercasse di farglielo conoscere, che esso acerbamente lo punirebbe, et egli allhora aperto un lembo della cappa, e scoperto il ritratto glie lo presentò in mano, e disseli, Signore, così è la sua faccia, io non vi posso di lui mostrar più oltre. Il Prencipe allhora pigliato quello con maraviglia, di subito gli venne in mente chi egli era, di modo ch' egli fu conosciuto e da lui, e da tutti quelli, ch' egli havea intorno senza pensarvi punto, e per ciò fatto pigliar quel reo egli volse che fusse castigato con quelle pene che più piacesse à quel valenthuomo : laonde vendicatosi per tal via, li venne poi questa cosa à esserli giovevole, perche li fu cagione, ch' egli divenisse strettissimo amico di quel Signore, e di altri Gentilhuomini, da' quali ne ricevesse aiuto et favori et fosse da essi sempre stimato, et ammirato per huomo d' un' ingegno mirabile. Questo così ingegnoso tratto, mi fu narrato in Siena, quand' io giovanetto vi dimorai qualche tempo, da un vecchio, che diceva di questo eccellente huomo esser stato strettissimo amico, dal quale io volentieri era menato per Siena a veder tutte le cose notabili che vi erano dentro.

No. 23.

Documents regarding the Porta San Vienne (Pispini) and the fresco painted there by GIOVANNI ANTONIO BAZZI.

ARCH. DI STATO DI SIENA. *Balìa Deliberazioni.*

Vol. 78, fol. 85⁶. *Die xii. Septembris (1528).*

Et quoniam pro honore eorum civitatis provisum et deliberatum est quod ad portam Sancti Vieni pingeri debeat

figura intemerate matris et quoniam murus suptilis est ingrossari debet servatis servandis deliberaverunt quod pro dicto muro ingrossando illi cives super negotiis deputati teneantur et debeant concedere muratoribus calcem lastras pro predictum faciendum, ponant ad compimentum ad e pensas magnifici Comunis Senarum, comiserunt frueri decima oportuna in quantum expedit.¹

Vol. 84. fol. 131. *Martis Die xii. Junii* (1531).'

Auditis operariis picture porte sancti Vieni super defectu pecunie pro finimento dicte picture, deliberaverunt quod duo eligendi videant denarios qui deposito sunt apud Biringuccios pro Domino Camillie porte et cum quo in procintu non debeant pro ea expendi habeant auctoritate solvere eos faciendi dictis operariis Sancti Vieni, habeant etiam auctoritate inveniendi usque ad summam ducatorum 30 pro residuo dicte picture et circa hoc rifereant et fiant in proprio casu opportune scripture etc.

fuerunt electi	{	deliberaverunt fieri decretum
Hieronimus Spannocchius		dictis Biringucciis quod solvant dictis operariis libras 218
		sol. 28 et at fuit factum decretum prout in registro apotixarum. ¹

Vol. 87. fol. 122. *Die tertia aprilis* (1532).

Audito insuper spectatissimo viro Hieronimo ser Johannis de Paccinellis servatis etc. voluerunt quod dicto Jeronimo solvantur scuti viginti auri et libr: 2 sol: 2 republica di quibus solvat Sodbome pictori scutos 10 pro premio, augmento seu donativo ultra salarium ordinatum pro opere et pictura janue Sancti Eugenii nuper completis et residuum sit suum et pro se retineat pro totidem quos rogavit de proprio in reaptandum locum supra dictum opus in amovendo cursum aque que devastabat dictas picturas et

¹ In the margin of both these, "*Madonna della Porta S^{ta} Viene,*"

faciendum calcestruzium et duo de Collegio a Priore eligantur provideant dicti duo in plena auctoritate salvis fidibus undecumque etc. solvi facient etc. omni modo etc.¹

Vol. 91, fol. 149^b, 150. *Die xxiii. Junii* 1534.

Magnifici Domini Officiales Balie etc. convocati etc.

Et auditis pluribus deputatis a congregatione contrate Abbacie Nove civitatis et eorum petitione, verbo et in scriptis tenoris infrascripti, volentes quod honori et decori Civitatis consuleter aliisque justis causis moti, servatis etc. dictam infra notatam petitionem approbaverunt in omnibus ut iacet et ita dicta congregationi dari et concedi voluerunt prout in ea, creantes depositarium denariorum prestantie veteris exigende prout in ipsa, Marinus de Cacciaguerris et erogentur in negotio de quo in petitione de ordine deputationum seu deputandorum ab ea et duo de collegio infrascripti faveant negotio adhibendo operam publicam honeste sunt poterunt pro effectuatione ipsius cum plena auctoritate et fiant apotissam et scripturam opportunam etc. omni meliori modo videlicet.

Jacomus Ugolini et dominus Bernardus Bonius et mio Nicolaus Campanus.

Tenor dicte Petitionis est infrascrittus videt.

Illmi. et eccellmi. Signori di Balia, Signori etc.

Davanti a vostra Illustrissima et eccellente Signoria hanno ardito con ogni debita reverentia gl'ottimi et fidelissimi Servidori di quella congregatione et contrada de la Abbadia Nuova esporre essere di loro animo et mente con ogni studio ornare la dicta Contrada et particolarmente d'un raro et bellissimo fonte come alcuni de le medesime el disegno han visto sperando che non solo e' luogo istesso, ma la città non meno de honorare se n'habbia et perchè al buono animo loro et a lo integro de le spese, che pensano arrivare a scudi 200 in circa, le proprie forze come deboli corrispondare non possano, sono stati con fermi et accesi nelle intenzioni loro da la molta

¹ In the margin, "*Giro : Paccinelli. Sobdoma.*"

cortesia benignità di V.S.I. promettendosi non habbino di mancare di favorire la impresa et auitare questi lor fidelissimi Servitori con auito massime che al publico in picciol pregiudizio ritornar possa et percio desidererieno et ne le supplicano che si degnassero conceder loro le preste vecchie de la abbadia nuova di sotto e di sopra da riscuotarle et depositarle in dove parrà a V.S.I. a causa si rendino certe et veder possino s'habbino a spendar solo a questa effetto et così ordinare potranno che le habbia chiaramente a vedere, la quale cosa ottenendo come sperano oltra l'esecutione di si lodevole opra restaranno et gli successori loro insieme in eterna memoria et servitio perpetuo con quelle quale nostro Signore Iddio in stato felicissimo conservi.¹

Concistoro Scritture. 1530. Notula.

Item diamo notitia qual mente ad honore de la gloriosa vergina Maria si fa dipingere la madonna a la porta a Sancto Vieno et sonno operari fuor del collegio e maestro Giovanni Palmieri et compagni di nove di guardie et del collegio misser Bernardino di Philipppo Buoninsegni et Girolamo Paccinelli et hanno in le mani fiorini 125 et autorita di risquotar le condannagioni de la guardia da poterne diminuir la terza parte, sarà bene V.S.M. procurino si finisca.²

No. 24.

Contract and documents regarding the Cappella di Piazza. Official Commission to GIO. ANTONIO, detto il SODOMA, to decorate the Cappella di Piazza.

ARCH. NOT. PROV. SIENA. ATTI D'ORDINAMENTO CIVILE. *Fra i Rogiti di Ser Sigismondo Trecherchi.* Rep. E, Busta 55.

1536-37, 6 di Marzo.

Al nome di Dio, e della sua imaculatissima madre Maria Vergine, a dì . . . del mese di Marzo MDXXXVI.

Apparrà manifesto a qualunque persona vedrà, e leggerà

¹ In the margin, "*Contrada della Abbadia Nuova.*"

² In the margin, "*Porto ad Santo Vieno.*"

la presente scritta, come li prestantissimi Camillo Ascarelli, Belisario Bandinelli, Fabio di Girolamo Garghi, e Alfonso Accarigi cittadini senesi, et operari deputati dal magnifico Concistorio integro de li eccelsi Signori, e Capitano del Popolo de l' inclita città di Siena, ad eseguire le cose sotto scritte con piena, et ampla autorità, come ne appare di manodi me Lattantio Girolami notaro in quel tempo d'esso Concistoro ; et il magnifico et generoso cavaliere messer Francesco Talomei degnissimo operaro de la chiesa cathedrale de la detta città, alluogano a dipegnare l' altare de la cappella de la Piazza pubblica di Siena, nel ritratto, e modo che sta al presente, al generoso cavaliere misser *Giovannantonio Soddoma*, pittore eccellentissimo ; el quale sia tenuto e obligato dipegnarvi una Nostra Donna in mezzo, e da' lati li quattro Advocati de la Città, e da Capo dove è il frontespizio, uno Dio Padre, e tutte bellissime figure, con perfetti colori da provedersi a spese d' esso Misser *Giovannantonio* ; el quale promette e s' obliga di dare finito il detto altare con dette figure a Santa Maria d' Agosto prossimo anno MDXXXVII., per prezo di scudi sessanta, da pagarseli per ordine d' essi oparai in questo modo, cioè : al presente scudi quindici, e altri scudi quindici, quando haverà amezato la detta opera, e scudi quindici di poi presso alla fine ; e scudi quindici, finita che sarà al detto tempo ; con questo patto, e conditione, che la detta opera, e pittura s' habbia stimare per duo homini comuni ; e caso che ella fusse stimata più prezzo de li detti 60 scudi, detto messer *Giovannantonio* per suo cortesia relassa quel più, e chiamasi contento d' avere solamente li 60 scudi : e se fusse stimata meno di 60 scudi, è contento d' avere solamente quello che fusse stimata : con questo patto, che detto Messer *Giovannantonio* sia obligato d' haver finita la detta opera perfettamente al detto tempo ; altrimenti caschi in pena di scudi . . . non essendo però impedito da legittimo impedimento : il che Dio cessi. Per la osservantia de le cose predette li prenominati operai, e commissari obbligano il suo magnifico Comune di Siena, e suoi beni ; et il detto

Messer *Giovannantonio* sè medesimo, e suoi beni, et herede. A preghiera de' quali io Lattantio Girolami detto, notaio, come privata persona, ho fatto la presente di mia propria mano, la quale sarà sottoscritta da le parti predette d'esser contente a quanto di sopra si contiene, et è scritto.

E io miser *Giovane Antonio* sopradeto aferme et oblige quanto di sopra questo dì sei de Marzo.

E io Francesco Tholomej sopra detto afermo et so' contemto (*sic*) a quanto di sopra si contiene, e però ò fatti questi di mano propria.

Io Bellissario di Ghuido Bandinelli sopradetto so' contemto (*sic*) a quanto di sopra.

Io Alfonso Acharigi sopradetto afermo quanto di sopra.

Io Camillo Ascharelli scrissi.

Io Fabio di Girolamo Garghi sopradetto so' contento quanto di sopra, etc.

NOTE.—It may be remarked that, although this document is at present filed, as stated, under the *Rogiti di Ser Sigismondo di Giovanni Treccerchi*, it apparently should (and may hereafter) be filed under those of *Lattanzio di Girolamo Girolami*.¹

ARCH. DI STATO. *Deliberazioni della Balìa*, ad annum, a c. 205 t.

25 Novembre, 1527.

Magnifici Domini Officiales Balie, etc.

Item, ad honorem et gloriam intemerate et gloriosissime Virginis Marie unanimiter deliberaverunt reactare, et quod reactetur figure ipsius Virginis Marie della Cappella di Piazza.

Et ut supradicta exequatur, deliberaverunt dare summam potestatem tribus per Priorem eligendis, actare faciendi dictam figuram et imaginem Marie Virginis cum auctoritate expendendi usque ad ducata triginta auri de sole, et pro predictis fieri faciendi decretum officio Bladi, quod

¹ Cf. Milanese, *Documenti cit.*, tom. cit. p. 127. No. 66.

solvatur dictos ducata xxx. super modiiis 300 grani recepti a Collegio per manus Antonii de Belantibus et Domini Alexandri Paccinelli.

Et fuerunt electi :

Johannes Bapt^a Piccolomineus
Contes de Buonsignoribus
Nicolaus Campana.

ARCH. detto. *Concistoro Scritture*,¹ Notula.

1530.

Item diamo notitia a V. S. qualmente a laude de la intemerata Vergine Maria habiamo deputati tre operari videlicet Conte Buonsignori et i compagni a fare tornar et rinfrescar la figura di nostra Signora de la cappella di piazza quali hanno hauto per tale contio scudi 30 d'oro di sole per principio di tale opera.

ARCH. detto. *Con. Scrit.*, Not.

1531.

In prima atteso vana essere la cura di quelli che sonno preposti al governo et guardia de la città se Dio non interviene con ausilio suo. Acciò la città vostra in pace et libertà si conservi con ogni diligentia procurarete l'honor di Dio et de la immacolata Vergine Maria, padrona et advocata nostra sia osservato et sia dato finimento al tempio principiato ad honor de la immacolata Concetton, dove sonofatti li operari et ancora la pittura de la cappella vostra di piazza si rinfreschi et si eseguischa per li operai, quella della porta Sancto Viene.

ARCH. detto. *Con. Scrit.*, Not. fol. 3.

1532.

Sara cosa molto convenevole ancora, che per honor di dio e di nostra Signora prima, e di poi dela citta loro le faccino rinfrescar la pittura de la cappella de la piazza loro.

¹ These are a number of loose papers collected in a portfolio.

ARCH. detto. *Con. Scrit.* ad annum.

1537-38, *Marzo e Aprile.*

Già più mese sono che per li precessori fu allogato a dipegnare la Cappella di Piazza al Soddoma dipentore, et di già ha ricevuti ducati 30. Alli giorni passati se li è scritto per ordine delli operari, per essere in Piombino, che venghi ad finire la opera sua secondo che sta lo obbligo quale è apresso de li medesimi ; non per ancho si tiene risposta, non mancheranno V. S. per honore publico farci dare fine. Li operarij sonno questi: Camillo Ascharelli, Bellisario Bandinelli, Fabio di Girolamo Garghi et Alfonso Acharigi.

ARCH. detto. *Concistoro Deliberazioni*, vol. 1029.

1537-38, *Martis. Die xvi. Aprilis.* 30.

Ac etiam mandaverunt literas Domino Johanni Antonio Sodona pictore in dicto qui redeat Senas.

ARCH. detto. *Con. Scrit.* ad annum.

1537, *Giugno* 30.

Si è allogato al Soddoma pittore la pittura della Cappella di piazza per ordine de' nostri precessori et di già ha ricevuto al tempo de' nostri precessori scudi quindici d'oro et furno deputati operari li sottoscritti sara bene el sollecitarli acciochè tal opera habbi executione

Camillo di maestro Jacomo Ascarelli.

Belisario di Guido Bandinelli.

Fabio di Girolamo Gharghi.

Alfonso di Francesco Accharigi.

ARCH. detto. *Concistoro Deliberazioni*, vol. 1034, fol. 4^t.

1538, *Die v. Januarii* (st. Sen.)

Super pictura capelle platee mittatur per operarios per dominum Franciscum Tolemeum et per Sogdoniam pictorem et intelligant diligenter et perficere faciant et referant in eo quod ipsi agere non possent.

ARCH. detto. *Con. Delib.*, vol. detto, fol. 17.

Die xxvi. Januarii.

Et deliberaverunt una cum dictis Vexilliferis quod sacrista palatii fieri faciat unam tendam cum armis comunis Senarum ante picturam noviter factam in cappella campi fori ad hoc ut dicta pictura conservatur et fiat decretum et ponat ad eius exitum de denariis palatii et bullectino etc.

ARCH. detto. *Con. Delib.*, vol. 1031, fol. 12.

Die nona Julii.

Et quoniam dominus Johannes Antoni Sodonus pictor egregius qui cepit pingere cappellam platea turris tenetur perfecisse illud opus infra certum tempus et sub quadam pena inscripta locationis expressa et illustrissimus dominus Plumbini mensibus elapsis supplicavit per licteras licentiam ut dicto domino Johanne Antonio concederetur ut possit toto mense maij esse in terra Plumbini et fuit ei concessa et adhuc non revertitur, licet alias quod ejus reditu procurando misse fuerunt alie lictere ad dictum illustrissimum dominum servatis etc. concesserunt auctoritatem infrascriptis duobus possint si eis videbitur de novo super dicta causa eumdem scribendi

Domino Hieronimo Tantuccio

Domino Camillo Peccio.

ARCH. detto. *Con. Delib.*, vol. detto, fol. 25^t, 26.

Die ii. februarii.

Illustrissimi Domini Capitaneus Vexilliferi, Consilarii Balia, Guardia et alii de Ordinibus ponipose facta ceremonia candelarum in cappella palatii se contulerunt in cappellam campi fori et ibi magnificus eques dominus Franciscus operarius catredalis ecclesie constitutus etc. promixit eisdem et michi notario stipulantem etc. dictam cappellam tenuisse et tenore pro magnifico Comuni

Senarum et promissit et convenit nullam ius patronatis acquirere sed illud et illam tenere pro magnifico Comune Senarum et ab aliquo non recognoscere sub pena ducatorum mille auri in auro. Pro quibus obligavit, etc. renuntiavit etc. juravit etc. cum guarentigia etc. rogatis etc.

Actum in dicta cappella coram Ugone de Bertis et Johanne Baptista Rubeo testibus etc.

Et post predicta se contulerunt ad ecclesiam catredralem more solito etc.

fol. 28. *Die quinta Februarii.*

Et super pictura platea videlicet cappelle deliberaverunt quod magnificus Capitaneus et dominus Petrus habeant circa eam et cum Sodoma amplissimam auctoritatem commissionem terminandi et ultimandi, etc.

fol. 43^b, 44. *Die xxi Februarii.*

Illustrissimi Domini etc. et Capitaneus populi etc alias audito domino Joanneantonio equite pictore aliter el Soddomo dicente qualiter pictura per eum facta in cappella campi fori sive conventionem sue locationis debet extimari per duos homines communiter eligendos et offerente se paratum hominem pro parte sua eligere et ex tunc elegit ad dictam extimationem faciendam pro parte sua magistrum Bartalum Davit pictorem ; ideo servatis etc. pro parte Consistori eligerunt ad dictam extimationem cum dicto magistro Bartolo, magistrum Johannem Laurentii pictorem in Salicotto et predicta omni modo, etc.

Die dicta dictus magister Bartolus accepavit.

Die xxiiij february accepavit dictus magister Joannes.

1538 (vol. 1035, fol. 6^t.) *Die xviiiij Marzo.*

Magnifici Domini et Capitaneus populi ante dicti etc. servatis servandis deputaverunt per plures voces in tertium

ad extimationem faciendam opere cappelle seu picture ipsius una cum arbitris iam electis magistrum Dominicum alias Mecuccium pictorem.

ARCH. DELL' OPERA DEL DUOMO. *Libro Giallo detto dell' Assunta*, fo. 369.

1539.

E a dì ij d'aprile 1539 lire cinquantasei se li fan buoni a Ugo Berti, camarlengo che li pagò a missere Giovantonio Sodoma dipetore per resto de la dipegnitura de la cappella di piazza, sono a sua uscita fo. 146^b . lire lvj

No. 25.

Correspondence between the Signoria of Siena, "CAVALIERE GIOVANNANTONIO SODONE," and Jacomo V., Prince of Piombino.

La Signoria di Siena a GIOV. ANTONIO BAZZI detto il Sodoma da Siena.

ARCH. DI STATO DI SIENA. *Copia lettere. Filza 194.* vol. 1748.

Il dì xvi d'Aprile 1538, a Ms. Giovannant^o Sodone Pittor' si scrisse :

Generoso Cavaliere,—Sai che si conviene a buo' pittore, a ciò che la virtù sua si manifesti parimenti a ogniuno, non incominciar solo una bella opera, ma tirarla con tal prestezza e in tal modo a fine, che ciascuno habbi giusta cagione di maravigliarsi di questo. Perchè addunque, come sai, desti principio a la cappella nostra di Piazza, qual grandemente ci spiace vederla così imperfetta, poichè el tempo è comodo, non mancarai, vista la presente, di venir subito a finir l' incommenciato lavoro ; il che facendo farai il debito tuo imperochè di tanto ubbligato ti sei, et fino a questa hora secondo le conventioni dovrebbe esar fornita ; e a noi farai cosa grata, altrimenti procederemo secondo ch' il giusto comportasse, ec., ec.

La medesima a GIACOMO V., PRINCIPE DI PIOMBINO.

ARCH. detto. *Filza detto, etc.*

2 di Maggio 1538, al Ill^{mo}. SIGNOR DI PIOMBINO JACOMO QUINTO, etc., etc.

Non potiamo in alcun modo mancare al giusto desiderio dela S.V., non essendo men desiderosi del' utile e del honor di quella che del nostro medesimo : servisi adunque comodamente L'ecc^a V. del Cavalier Sodone per il mese di Maggio, come ci ricerca, rimandandocelo infatto poichè costì haria finito l'incominciato Lavoro, acciò che noi ancora restiamo in breve di quel che già più mesi sono ci doveva, satisfatti ; che mancando el sopradecto cavalier' del debito suo, haremogiusta cagione di dolerci di quello, e procedargli, contra come' il giusto et il ragionevole comportasse. Nè altro diremo ala S.V., a la quale ci offeriamo ; che dio la contenti.

La medesima al GIO. ANTONIO detto il Sodoma.

ARCH. detto. *Filza detto, etc.*¹

A Ms Giovanni Ant^o Sodone Pittor' si scrisse ; Noi non ci estendaremo in più parole' a ricordarti l' obbligo che hai con esso noi del opera dela Cappella ch' hai lassata imperfetta ; e come di già molti giorni sia passato il tempo, che per accomodare cotesto Signor ti demo licenza di restare con esso infino tutto il mese di Maggio, ti diremo solamente che senza farne altra giustificatione seguiremo quanto il giusto richiede secondo i patti che sono tra noi. Procura adunque il caso tuo, e vogli più presto che noi habbiamo a lodarci di te : che dolerà à farne appresso dimostratione. Il che seguendo sarà solamente per colpa tua. Ne altro ci accade.

La medesima al PRINCIPE DI PIOMBINO.

ARCH. detto. *Filza detto.*

xvii Giugno, 1538. Al Ill. SIGNORE DI PIOMBINO si scrisse :

Ricordisi la S.V. che ricercandone già più giorni sono

¹ This letter is not dated, but is probably of the same date as the following one to the Prince of Piombino—*i.e.* June 17th, 1538.

di volersi valer per qualche suo bisogno del opera del Cavalier' Sodone, noi per farle cosa grata non dubitammo scomodarci, e darli licentia che restasse infino tutto il mese di Maggio, come essa desiderava, doppo il qual tempo ci prometteva liberamente di rimandarlo, dove, essendo già di longo passato, e parendo pure conveniente di tirar' a fine l'opera che fu da esso incominciata, stavano aspettando che la S.V. lo rimandasse ; Hora non venendo ad effetto, habbiamo pensato farle intendere intorno a questo l'animo nostro, e replicarle come saremo forzati a procedere contra di lui secondo che richiede il dovere, per virtu dele conventioni fatte co'esso. Ci rendiamo ben certi che dala S.V. non restarà rendarci il cambio di non fare manco suo comodo il nostro, che ci facessemo noi allhora (*sic*), il suo proprio, come ancora saremo per fare in ogni altra occorrenza. Et il nostro Signore Dio la S.V. contenti.

La medesima al PRINCIPE DI PIOMBINO.

ARCH. detto. Filza detto, etc.

1538, 3 *di Luglio*.—All' Illmo. SIGNORE DI PIOMBINO JACOMO QUINTO.

Più giorni sono che si scrisse a V.S. che si contentasse di rimandarci, poichè per tutto Maggio glien'havevam fatta comodità, el Cavaliere Sodone, acciò che tirasse a fine una cappella nostra, qual partendo imperfetta lassa ma non solo non è tornato il sopradetto cavaliere ma non habbiamo havuto risposta di cosa alcuna di V.S. di che veramente ci saremo maravigliati, se in tutto fussimo stati certi che le nostre fussero venute alle mani di quella ; maggiormente cognoscendola persona cortese e a Noi amicissima : Ma perchè teniam per fermo che non l'abbi la S.V. ricevuta, gli habbiamo ancora con questa a voluto ricordare, che di molto è passato il tempo i' nel quale ella ci promise di rimandarcelo. La quale se farà che subito a Noi ritorni, farà quello che se li conviene, e noi non potremo lamentarci di quella, alla quale c'offeriamo che nostro Signore Dio contenti.

GIACOMO QUINTO PRINCIPE DI PIOMBINO *alla* SIGNORIA DI
SIENA da Piombino.

ARCH. detto, *Balia Lettere*, 1539.

Originale.

Magnifici et eccelsi Signori Signori come patroni osservandissimi.

Dubio non è ch' l modo desiderio del cavalier *Sogdona* nel far piacere a me, et la satisfactione mia vedendo tirare a perfettione la tavola nostra già di tanto tempo promessa, hanno causato che non tanto del cavaliere, ma di me, come prencipio (*sic*) del commesso fallo. Vostre Eccellente S. han presa qualche ammiratione ; dove io, insieme seco pensando et recognosciutomi dell' errore in qualche modo partecipare, massime che questa colpa sua della dilatione a tutto mio comodo sia reduntata, confesso ingenuamente che di tal caso l' obligatione e carco debbi esser mio verso di quella, et tanto più lo confermo che dala banda del Cavaliere par che si defenda ill fallo dalla professione del pittore, quale (sì come a poeti spesso avvenir suole) da furore è tirato e sforzato di modo, che volendo dalla presa opera desistere, facilmente non possi. Anchora io per la verità quasi allucinato et fatto vago nel operar suo, ho presa troppa confidenza di Vostre Eccelse Signorie per non haverlo al venir sollecitato, come sarea stato bisogno. Ma ben le fo certe che con tanto più fervore al servitio loro si presenta, che ogni tardità usata col valore et eccellenza dell' opera, ch' egli farà, iia compensato. Per tanto ed oltre per amor mio Vostre Signorie saran contente (remosso qual vi fusse nato sdegno) con grata fronte riceverlo, del che degna è la sua virtù et servitù tiene con le medesime fidelissima. Sichè io meritamente et come persona da me molto diletta, di tutto buon cuore lo reccomando. Alle quali da buon figlio et servitore sempre m' offro e raccomando. Di Piombino a' XIII. d' Agosto 1539.

IL PRINCIPE DI PIOMBINO.

No. 26.

Award made by VANNOCCIO DI PAOLO BIRINGUCCI in a suit between the brothers, GIOVANNI and ARDUINO ARDUINI, and CAVALIERE GIOVANNANTONIO, alias SODOMA, as to the value of the painting of the "Adoration of the Magi," now in the Church of S. Agostino in Siena.

ARCH. NOT. PROV. SIENA. *Filza 5 dei Lodi di Ser Francesco Figliucci. (Atti Notarile.)* Rep. A, Busta 580. 1536, 13 d'Ottobre.

Noi Vannoccio di Paul Biringucci arbitro et arbitratore, e terzo eletto e chiamato da li spectabili Giovanni et Arduino Arduini Cittadini senesi da una parte, e'l magnifico cavaliere Misser *Giovannant^o*, alias *Sodona*, dipentore, da l'altra, a decidere et mozare certe loro liti et differentie in fra decte parti vertenti per causa, come nel compromesso in noi facto in la corte de la Mercantia, rogato ser Francesco Figliucci notaio di decta corte, ad pare; onde visto el decto compromesso in noi facto, et viste le ragioni de le parti, et intesole più volte tanto insieme, quanto di per sè; per por fine a le decte lor liti, tale in fra decte parti lodo et arbitramento diamo, cioè:

Christi nomine invocato; imprima giudichiamo, per haver decto cavalier facta una tavola in Sancto Agustino per li decti Arduini, li decti Arduini per la mercede et factura di decta tavola havere integramente pagato, et li absolviamo di decta factura di decta tavola in tutto et per tutto, et di tutto che havesse facto in la cappella.

Item, condanniamo li decti Arduini a restituire al decto cavaliere un tondo di mano di decto cavaliere, dove è dentro una Nostra Donna, una santa Lisabetta, et un santo Giuseppe, tutt'ora e quando el decto cavaliere darà a li decti Arduini scudi sette: el quale tondo se intenda doversi restituire con tutti li suoi fornamenti, cioè el festone dorato, nel essere che si trova.

Item, di tutte le altre cose vertenti infra loro, le decte parti liberiamo et absolviamo l'una parte e l'altra, e l'altra e l'una: et questo giudichiamo, lodiamo, et arbitriamo

non solo come di sopra, ma in ogni miglior modo che lodare et giudicare si può.

Io *Vannoccio Biringucci* albitro sopradetto giudico et lodo come di sopra è scritto, et in fede questo xiii. d'Ottobre ho fatto questi versi di mia mano propria.

Anno Domini 1536. Indictione X, die xiii. Octobris. Latum—fuit dictum laudum etc.¹

No. 26 A.

Extract from PHYLOLAURO DA CAVE, Lode delle Donne Senese.
(Siena. Calistro Dubbioso di Simone di Niccolò. Dec. 5th, 1533.)

Canto X. CHATERINA RINCONTI, donna di MARCELLO PETRUCCI. Stanze 14, 20, 21.

Sel Sodoma, sel Riccio e Mattheo tosto
Ch'el mio Castello e la mia Patria honora,
Se Mecarino al colorir disposto
O chiunque ai nostri di sculpe e colora
Il volto (ove con l'arco amor s'è posto),
Havessen visto over vedessen ora
Di questa che ciascun l'adora e brama,
Saria più chiara (ch'or non è) lor fama.

Ne Sodoma quel volto almo e divino
(Quantunque bello) co' tre Magi avanti
Dentro nel sacro tempio d'Augustino
Haria dipinto, co' molti altri Santi
Su l'altar (ch'è alla porta più vicino),
Nè Mattheo tosto fatti altri sembianti
Harebbe in Cave dentro al sacro tempio
Di quel di cui le pietre fer gran scempio.

Nè Bastiano haria Venetia piena
Nè di più volti e più figure ombrata
Nè Sodoma, nè Riccio harebben Siena
Nè Mecarin d'altre figure ornata—

¹ Usual legal forms and recognitions of the signatures follow.

Se di costei la fronte alta e serena
 Gli occhi e l' effigge di beltà dotata
 Tenuta havessen sempremai davante
 Ma del suo rara anzi divin sembiente.

[Were Sodoma, Riccio, and Matteo eke,
 Whom my city and my country honour,
 Were Mecarino to paint inclined ;
 Or those in our day, who carve or paint,
 The brow (where Love's archer crouches)
 Could have seen, or yet should study now
 That face whom each of us adores, or yearns,
 Their fame (which now 'tis not) would more resplendent shine.

Nor Sodoma had, that brow, dearest and divine
 (Gracious though it be) with the Magi three before her
 Within Augustine's sacred fane
 So painted with Saints unnumbered,
 O'er the altar, set nearest to the gate ;
 Nor e'en Matteo would those forms create
 In Cave within the hallowed shrine
 Of him to whom the stone did such grievous hurt.¹

Nor Bastiano would all Venice fill
 Nor with more faces and more forms o'ershadow,
 Nor Sodoma have, nor Riccio would Siena
 Nor Mecarino, with other shapes adorn.
 Had they, her brow so lofty and serene,
 Those eyes and form with beauty dowered,
 Held evermore before their minds,
 E'en that semblance rare, that form almost divine.]

In the Siena Library there is a charming little copy of this book, *minus* the frontispiece and colophon. It is bound in brown leather with the following inscriptions :
 O FALLAX AMOR CUR TUA FAX URIT (on the face): ESTO
 CUSTOS CORDIS MEI ; ROGO (on the back).

¹ St. Stephen.

No. 27.

Purchase by "GIOVANNI ANTONIO DI GIACOMO DE BAZIS, PICTOR, DE VERZÈ" of a house in the Via Vallerozzi.
 (ARCH. NOT. PROV. SIENA. *Rogiti di Ser Corti Baldassare da Pienza* [*Gestioni Notarili Anteriori all'anno 1585*].
 Rep. A, Busta 988. *Atto No. 192.*)

Cessio jurum et locatio facta
 Sogdome Pictorj.

Anno domini 1534.

Indictione viij die vero xxiiij Octobris Paulo Tertio summo Pontifice et Carulo quinto romanorum Imperatore.

Ex serie presentis publici instrumenti omnibus evidenter appareat et sit notum. Qualiter Sebastianus olim Andree calzectarius de Senis per se etc. et eius filios masculos et durante eius linea maschulina dedit cessit etc. magnifico et generoso equiti domino Johanni Antonio Jacomi de Bazis pictorj de Verzè alias el Sogdoma presenti etc. omnia iura et actiones etc. quas et que dictus Sebbastianus habet etc. in et super quadam domo sita in civitate Senensi in Terzerio Kamollie et in Contrada Vallerози et populo Sancti Donati, cui ex uno Luce (Posse?) (*sic*) ex alio domine Caterine relicte Luce de Gallis, ex alio via comunis etc. et si qui sunt etc. quam dictus Sebbastianus habet tenet et possidet et durante eius linea maschulina ad pensionem perpetuam recepit pro florenis sex pro quolibet anno a fratribus capituli et conventus Sancti Francisci de Senis prout de tali perpetua pensione latius constat et apparet per publicum instrumentum manu ser Melchioris magistri Pretiani notarj publici, quod instrumentum in publicam formam redactum eidem magnifico equiti idem Sebbastianus dedit et consignavit in presentia mei notari et testium infrascriptorum et omnia eius jura et actiones de quibus supra eidem dedit cessit et concessit, et quas et que idem Sebbastianus habuit vigore dicti instrumenti in et super dicta domo. Ad habendum etc.

cum iuribus omnibus et cum accessibus etc. et cum omnibus etc. pretio et nomine veri et justi pretij florenorum quatráginta de libris quatuor etc. de quo pretio dictus Sebbastianus fuit confessus et recognovit eidem magnifico equiti se ab eo habuisse et recepissee libras septuaginta denariorum in brachiis 22 et $\frac{1}{8}$ panni accordellati ispani per manum Hieronimi de Goris camerari montis et salis magnifici comunis et libras quinquaginta duos solidos quatuor denariorum in pecunia sibi in pluribus vicibus a dicto magnifico equiti numerata et libras triginta octo solidos 15, denarios 4 pro residuo dicte summe florenorum quatráginta dictus magnificus eques dedit solvit et numeravit dicto Sebbastiano presenti etc. in pecunia numerata in presentia mei notari et testium infrascriptorum et non sub spe etc. et illud quid plus valerent dicta eius iura etc. dedit et donavit etc. et dedit et donavit etc. et dedit licentiam etc. quam tenutam etc. et nichilominus etc. et promixit dictam domum et jura ipsius Sebbastiani supradicti per se et eius lineam maschulinam non tollere etc. sed ipsam et ipsa pro suo dicto et facto tantum defendere a dicta eius linea masculina prout supra et statim mota lite etc. et ex dictis titulo etc. dedit cessit etc. constituens etc. asserens etc. quod si contrafactum fuerit etc. cum pacto tamen in principio medio et fine presentis instrumenti appposito et solemni stipulatione vallata inter dictas partes quod dictus magnificus eques durante linea maschulina dicti Sebbastiani et ipso Sebbastiano vincte teneatur et obligatus et ita per se etc. promisit et se obligavit eidem Sebbastiano presenti etc. eidem Sebbastiano et eius filiis masculis et linea maschulina predicta dare solvere et numerare pro pensione et nomine pensionis dicte domus florenos sex pro quolibet anno durante vita ipsius Sebbastiani et eiusdem Sebbastiani linea maschulina durante prout sicut et quemadmodum dictus Sebbastianus teneatur solvere dictis fratribus capituli et conventus. Et ita in dicta annua pensione dictus magnificus eques fecit et constituit se principalem

debitorem et pagatorem dicto Sebastiano. Et ipsam annuam pensionem promixit et se obligavit solvere eidem Sebastiano et eius linee maschuline de tribus mensibus in tres menses absque aliqua exceptione juris vel facti, et ab inde in antea etc. quarum solutionum etc. cum refectioe etc. Et cum pacto etiam predictus magnificus eques non possit aliquo modo deminuere stantias dicte domus videlicet de duobus stantiis unam et facere aliquam fracturam in dicta domo vel aliqua bonificamenta absque expressa licentia dictorum fratrum capituli et conventus, que omnia et singula supra et infrascripta dicte partes ad invicem promixerunt attendere etc. sub pena duppli etc. quam penam etc. et dicta pena etc. pro quibus etc. obligaverunt etc. renuntiarunt etc. iuraverunt etc, cum garantigia etc. Rogantes etc.

Actum in Civitate Senarum in palatio domini Potestatis in Residentia dominorum 9 et 5, coram et presentibus Angelo Francisci de Ranconibus cive senensi et Hieronimo Sanctis notarii curie dictorum dominorum 9 et 5, testibus etc.

Ego Baldassar Curtus not. subscripsi una cum supra-scriptis apostillis.

No. 28.

Extract from NOTA DELLE PITTURE DI TAVOLE, *che ha fatto in Duomo alli altari, et altrove M^o Giovant^e Sogliani, pittore fiorentino, et loro stima.*

(ARCH. DEL CAPITULO, PISA, *Filza L.*, p. 357.)

SODOMA	{	La tavola della Pietà titolo di San Bartolomeo in sagrestia, stimata a dì 5 di maggio	
		154 ¹	scudi 80
		Il quadro in tela, che è la storia d'Abramo	
			scudi 42
		Tanto fu stimato d'accordo a dì 23 di luglio	
		1542.	

No. 29.

Extract from NOTIZIE INEDITE DI S. MARIA DEL PONTINOVO.
Leopoldo Tanfani, Pisa. Nistri, 1871.

P. 114.—Niuno è che ignori come uno degli altari di Santa Maria della Spina avesse l' adornamento di una tela colorita da Giovannantonio Bazzi da Vercelli, soprannominato il Sodoma, e anche il Cavaliere, il quale vi dipinse la Nostradonna con molti Santi. Apparisce dai documenti da noi rinvenuti che questa opera di pittura, la quale ora si conserva nella Accademia pisana di belle arti fu eseguita dal Sodoma nel 1542, e che egli ne ebbe li prezzo di 526 lire e 10 soldi. Peraltro non restò compreso in questa somma il valore dell' azzurro oltramarino da lui usato nel quadro, colore che avea molto pregio, siccome è noto, perchè si traeva dai lapislazzuli; che anzi il Sodoma venne in discordia con l'operaio della Spina intorno al prezzo di esso, e si tenne mal sodisfatto de' sei ducati d' oro che n' ebbe.¹

¹ Doc. XXX. XXXI.—Dal seguente ricordo dell' operaio del Duomo si vede come fosse caro il prezzo dell' azzurro nel secolo XIV.:—“Maestro Antone di Franciescho dipintore da Fiorenza, lo quale dipingie in Chanposanto la storia di Santo Ranieri, de' dare a dì 7 di diciembre 1385 soprascritto fiorini dodici d' oro, li quali diei per lui ad Aldobrandino speciale per uncie vij d' azurro, portoleli ser Giovanni fattore dell' opra a bottega sua.” ARCHIVIO DELL' OPERA DEL DUOMO, *Memorie dell' operaio*, I. c. 18. Di un allievo del Sodoma, non ricordato dagli eruditi commentatori delle Vite del Vasari, trovasi memoria nella *Entrata e Uscita* dell' opera dell' Spina del 1543; e questi è maestro Giammaria pittore, il quale dipinse quattro candelieri, e fece altri lavori per quella chiesa. ARCHIVIO DEGLI SPEDALI RIUNITI., filza 1762, c. 5, e 6.

P. 217.

XXX.

L' operaio di S. Maria della Spina paga 33 scudi d' oro al Sodoma in conto di un quadro per detta chiesa.

1543, maggio 16. (A. S. R. Entr. e Usc. dell' opera della Spina ad annum.)

Et più lire dugentoquarantanove date al Cavaliere ditto il *Soddoma*

No. 30.

Letter from PIETRO ARETINO to "SODONA." (*Lettere.* Parigi, 1609, lib. iii. p. 163.)

1545. *d'Agosto. Al Sodona.*

Io nello aprir de la lettera mandatami, leggendoci insieme il vostro nome col mio, così me ne risentì sin' nelle viscere, come se noi ci fossimo l'un con l'altro di presente abbracciati con quel' cordiale affetto d' amore, con che ci solevano abbracciare; quando Roma, et la casa d' Agostin' Chisi cotanto ci piacque; che ci saremmo cruciati con chi ci havesse detto, che pure una hora non rimarremo senza. Ma ne gli aggiramenti del mondo anco le genti si aggirano. Onde costui, e colui, quelli, e questi, costoro, e coloro sono trasportati da le sorte de i casi in alcune parti ad habitare, che non mai pensarono di vedere. Che il mio cavaliere mille volte caro, mille volte da bene, e mille volte galante. Certo che sete non risuscitato, nella memoria mia; che in vero non ci moriste mai; ma ringiovanito nel modo che vorrei, che ringiovanissimo noi. Ma a che proposito il dico, se nello invecchiar nostro nella etade haviamo sempre fanciulli i pensieri? che cosa hanno a fare le virtù de le ricchezze, se ad altro non son' buone, che a consumare le menti di chi le possiede con la miseria de l' ansia, che meno ne gode quanto più ne ripone? io per me ho speso in questa

in scudi trentatre d'oro per parte della taula, come apare riceuta di sua mano.

P. 218.

XXXI.

Altri pagamenti che fa detto operaio al medesimo pittore in saldo della tavola predetta

1543, gennaio 8—febbraio 1. (A. S. R. ivi, ad annum.)

E a dì ditto lire dugentasettasette, soldi dieci, date al Cavaliere ditto il Soddoma per resto della taula senza l' asurro intramerino, che l'abbiamo rimissa in Messer Antonio Benucello.

E a dì primo di ferraio ditto messer Antonio giudicò che li dovessi dare lire quarantacinque in scudi sei d'oro, che non li voleva, et tenevasi mal pagato.

città un' thesoro si fatto, che non è principe, che ritrovando-selo, non gli paresse haverne assai. E se bene alcuno me ne riprende, a me più rallegra l' animo l' esserne suto liberale ; che non fa il nome, che spero lasciar' di me a i secoli, che verran dopo di noi. Si che viviamo il termine da Dio stabilitoci ; ringratiandolo in tanto del dono concessoci da la pietà del suo conservarci in vita ; mentre piu de i conoscenti nostri ne sono iti sotterra, che voi non havete mosso colpi di pennello e io tratti di penna, da che siam' diventati famosi nell' arte del pingere, e dello scrivere ; ma ben'ci darà Christo di rivederci anco un' giorno. Del che supplico la bontà di lui, che ciò sia tosto. In questo mezzo attendiamo a visitarci con la presentia de le carte e se avviene, che ve n' andiate, qual mi dite, a Piombino, basciate la mano al Signor' suo in mia vece. Di Agosto in Venetia MDXLV.

No. 31.

Inventory of Goods left on his Decease by GIOVANNI ANTONIO BAZZI.

ARCH. NOT. PROV. SIENA. *Rogiti di Ser Luca di Mariano Salvini d' Asciano.* No. 2386. Rep. A, Busta 941.¹

1548-49. 14 di Febbraio.

Anno Domini 1548. Indict : 7, die vero Jovis
xiiij. *Februarij.*

Inventarium bonorum acceptorum in testamento a domina Beatrice olim filia Luce de Gallis sive Corona, et relicta domini *Johannis Antonii Sodone*, pro parte suarum dotium, et vigore sui instrumenti dotalis.

Una vigna in Curia Archiepiscopatus in Comuni Murli cum domo, casalone, et cellario cum omnibus massaritiis, et juribus.

Più teste et antichaglie et cose da pitori esistenti in una

¹ In the margin is written, *Inventario bonorum di I^{ro} Ant^o Sodone.*

stanzetta di suo (*sic*) casa : 6 cassette con colori et altre cose; una credentia, tre sedie di legno; 6 altre casse; 3 altre sedie, due 2 di legno, et una di stiancia (sala) nuove; 2 spade.

1 quadro di Leda; una Lucretia: 1 tavoli con Chisto (*sic*) che porta la croce; uno quadro con S. Tommè; 1 Christo in resurrectione: 1 quadro con Christo in apparitione a la Nostra Donna; un ritracto di Pandolfo Petrucci, 1 tela abbozzata con Christo morto, 2 cabbie con filo di rame, e schannello con 2 porfidi con quadri di pietre miste; 3 pezzi di marmi; 1 tela di paesetti; la Nocte, o vero fornace da bichieri; 1 tavola, 4 intarsiate, 1 scannello vechio; 3 tele di paesi; 1 Christo alla Colonna; 1 quadro di Nostra Donna in tela; 1 quadro di S. Caterina, di legno; 3 ritratti; 1 quadro con cornice intagliata: 1 quadro abozato del Archivescovo; 1 predella d' altare missa a oro; 1 pila di macigno; 1 quadro di S. Michelangelo; 1 tela longa di tre bracia principiata; 2 ritrattati (*sic*) la Saracina, e la Toscana; 1 altra credentia; el papagallo con cabbia; 1 tavola grande di bracia 6 in 7 d' altare con ornamento, di Nicolò di Bogino; 5 deschi; 4 pezzi di cornicioni di nocie; 1 matarazo; 1 lecto; 4 lenzuola; 2 cuperte; 3 cucciette; la madia; 1 stanzetta con più legnami, e altre bagaglie di poca valuta; 1 tavola d' altare grande; 2 colonne di pietra; 1 botte nuova, ferri da fuocho, e tavoletta da mangiare; 2 tovaglie; 1 sciugamano; più vasa;

30 pezi fra teste e piei ne lo studio; 31 vasi piccoli e grandi; 1 istoria di marmo murata.

1 quadretto di Christo; più cose turchesche.

1 tondo di terra con istoria; 4 pezi di mistio.

Actum Senis in Terzerio Kamollie, populo Abbatie S. Donati in domo dicti domini *Johannis Antonii* Sodone coram, etc., etc., et presentibus Julio Andree Cereario e Mag^o Augustino Tome *Pometti* Muratore

Ego Lucas Salvinus notarius rogavit et suscripsit.

No. 32.

Letter from P. TRAPPOLINO to MESSER ALESSANDRO CORVINI.
Lettere Pittoriche del Mgr. Giovanni Bottari, vol. v., Lettera
 42,¹ p. 177. (Milano: Giovanni Silvestri, 1822.)

A Messer Alessandro Corvini.²

Ho scritto un'altra volta a Roma, e non ho scritto a V. S. Questo procede che non aveva ancor fatto niente, e ancor perchè l'agente del Papa mi diede troppa prescia.³ Sono stato da *mastro Riccio* il quale è ammalato, e mostra d'esser un gentil par suo. Ho visto le tegole, che in vero sono belle; ma più quella del Milone, che mi par che sia un Ercole, perchè nello spoglio del leone è fessa de sommo ad imo, ed ha guasto un capo del toro. Ho visto la testa dal S. Giovanni, la quale è bellissima, ma parlata assai. Ho parlato del prezzo. Mi disse che il Sodoma suo suocero comprò la testa dal S. Giovanni per 10 scudi. Credo che si avrebbe per la metà. Delle tegole mi ha detto che sono della dote della moglie che fu figlia de *Sodoma* e però sta un po' sulle sua. Son ben informato che è una persona da benissimo, e che si può sperar da lui ogni cortesia e ogni discreto partito.

Mastro Pierantonio Barbiero è vivo, ma non gli ho parlato. Conferirò ogni cosa con lui. Il detto *Mastro Riccio* non ha il Satiro, che non si trovò alla morte del *Sodoma*. Ne ho parlato al *Mastro Giuliano* orefice, il quale al presente si trova a Siena. Non mancherò di far ciò che m'ha comandato in ogni cosa, ec. Essendo andato a vedere le cose del *Pastorino*, mi sono

¹ This letter is also to be found in *Lettere Facete, ec., di diversi uomini grandi, ec., raccolte da M. Francesco Turchi*, Vinegia, 1601, lib. 2, lettera 14.

² In a letter written by Cardinal Bembo from Padua dated Jan. 28th, 1533, to M. Flaminio Tomarazzo, then living in Bologna, he mentions a certain Messer Niccolò Trappolino, calls him an ancient and learned personage (*persona dotta e antica*), and addresses a letter to him which he encloses with the one written to Tomarazzo.

³ *Prescia* is a Roman word and means hurry.

tanto innamorato di un ritratto di piombo, d' una *Tullia Tolomei*, che è troppo gran cosa, in fè di gentiluomo. Or pensate come starò quando veda le vive, se quelle che sono senza spirito mi fan questo? Vi dico ben che non ho visto il più bel profilo, nè altro ritratto di donna di Siena, nè quel della Valle, nè di una Perugina, che era innamorata del . . . la quale invero è bellissima, ec., ma questa però avanza tutti gli altri. Oh vedete, se io son dolce di cuore.—State sani, ec.

Di Siena, il dì . . . del 51.

SERVITOR. P. TRAPPOLINO.

PICTURES BY GIOVANNI ANTONIO BAZZI, CALLED "SODOMA."

NOTE.—The student should observe that the author, in compiling these lists of Paintings and Drawings, has in great part allowed himself to be guided in his selection by the consensus of opinion among his more able predecessors. He therefore invites attention to the *Notes* appended to each picture, since he has there endeavoured to state briefly the sources of his information. Such attention is specially important in the case of the *Lists of Attributed Pictures and Drawings*, in which many works are included which are certainly *not* by Bazzi. Moreover, it should be further remarked that in certain of the older sources of information examined when preparing this study,—such as, for example, the MSS. of Romagnoli,—a yet larger number of paintings, etc., are attributed to Bazzi, which have either totally disappeared, cannot be identified, or, in a few cases, are so obviously incorrectly christened, that to admit them would needlessly lengthen this work. This has been done to forestall criticism in view of the absence from the text of all comment on, and consideration of, these works.

ITALY

SIENA.

PALAZZO PUBBLICO (SALA DELLE BALESTRE).

S. Victor. Fresco.

S. Ansano. Fresco.

The Blessed Bernardo Tolomei. Fresco.

(CHAPEL.)

The Holy Family with S. Leonard. Panel.

Formerly the altarpiece of the Chapel of S. Calixtus
in the Duomo. Removed thence in 1681.

(SALA DEL SINDACO.)

The Resurrection. Fresco.

One of the soldiers is said to be a portrait of the
artist himself. Moved here in 1842.

(SALA DEL MATRIMONIO.)

Madonna and Child with SS. Ansano and Galgano.
Fresco.

Painted in 1537. (See Frizzoni, *Arte del Rinascimento*, etc., p. 103.)

(SALA DEI REGISTRI.)

An Eagle with two Putti supporting Shields. Fresco.

Charmingly executed and in excellent condition.

Formerly part of the *Resurrection*. (See above, and *Siena e il suo Territorio*, p. 240.) Moved in 1842.

CHAPEL IN THE PIAZZA DEL CAMPO.

Madonna and Child with Saints. Fresco.

Very badly injured, and much restored by Liborio Guerrini in 1800. Perhaps by others since.

ORATORY OF S. BERNARDINO.

The Presentation of the Virgin. Fresco. 1518.

The Salutation " "

The Assumption " 1532.

The Coronation " 1518.

S. Anthony of Padua " "

S. Francis of Assisi. " "

S. Louis of Toulouse " "

CHURCH OF S. FRANCESCO.

Putto and angels over the Piscina in the Sacristy.
Fresco.

CHURCH OF S. DOMENICO (CHAPEL OF S. CATHERINE OF SIENA).

The Swoon of S. Catherine. Fresco.

Her Ecstasy "

S. Catherine prays for the Soul of a Criminal. Fresco.

Figures of a Prophet and an Evangelist "

(On the vault of the chapel arch.)

The decoration of the arches.

(CHAPEL OF THE ROSARY.)

God the Father, with Cherubim, and Saints Catherine, Sigismund, Dominick, and Sebastian. Canvas.

View of the town of Siena below. In the centre is set an ancient painting of the Madonna. (See Vasari, *Op. cit.*, p. 395; Frizzoni, *Op. cit.*, p. 163, note.)

(SACRISTY.)

The Assumption. Banner.

Charming colour. View of Siena below. Much repainted. Exhibited at *La Mostra dell' Arte Sacra*, Siena, 1904.

HOUSE OF S. CATHERINE (LOWER CHAPEL).

Frieze of Putti. Fresco.

Over the altar; below a painting by Pacchiarotto of S. Catherine receiving the *Stigmata*.

ACCADEMIA DELLE BELLE ARTI.

Room VIII. 360. *Madonna and Child with two Angels.* Panel.

„ „ 361. *Pietà.* Panel.

„ „ 326. *Madonna and Child with two Angels.* Panel.

„ „ 327. *Two Guild Brothers kneeling before the Cross.* Panel.

Portions of a bier, formerly belonging to the Compagnia di Fontegiusta.

„ „ 352. *Christ bound to the Column.* Fresco.

Portion of a larger composition. Brought from the Cloister of the Convent of S. Francesco in Siena in 1841.

„ „ 354. *Judith.* Panel.

Probably part of a set of pictures painted for the Palace of Pandolfo Petrucci. (See Karl Schuchhardt, *Jahrbuch der König. Preuss. Sam.*, vol. 18, 1897.)

Room VIII. 358. *The Adoration of the Magi*. Small panel.

Possibly a sketch for the larger picture in S. Agostino.

„ X. 401. *The Agony in the Garden*. Fresco.

„ „ 443. *The Descent into Limbo*. „

These two frescoes, with a third, now at S. Eugenia, Monistero (*Villa Griccioli*), were removed in 1842 from the Chapel of the suppressed Compagnia della Croce. They were painted in side niches. Fragments of work by the artist's pupils still remain in the desecrated church (now the Palestra Comunale).

„ „ 413. *The Descent from the Cross*. Panel.

On the predella 5 *Scenes from the Passion*. Formerly the altarpiece in the Cinuzzi Chapel at S. Francesco in Siena. Removed after the fire in August 1655, it was taken to the Picture Gallery in 1862. Restored by Giuseppe Collignon 1829. (See Romagnoli, *Biografia etc.*, MS.) The smaller scenes are by a pupil: perhaps Vincenzo Tamagni or Michel Angelo Anselmi.

„ XI. 512. *The Nativity*. Tondo, panel.

Removed from the Eremo at Lecetto. Padre de Angelis in his *Ragguaglio del nuovo Istituto delle Belle Arti* (1816) suggests that he sees in the angel here a portrait of Bazzi himself, as a youth.

CHURCH OF S. AGOSTINO (PICCOLOMINI CHAPEL).

The Adoration of the Magi. Panel.

The head between the trees, praised by Vasari, is

said to be a portrait of the painter himself. Painted for the Arduini family, and paid for in 1536. (See Frizzoni, *Op. cit.*, p. 152 ; Langton Douglas, *History of Siena*, p. 404.)

CHURCH OF THE CARMINE (CHAPEL OF THE SACRAMENT).

The Nativity of the Virgin. Panel.

Genuine but much darkened. Exhibited as above. Attributed then to *Giommio* (sic) *del Sodoma*.

CHURCH OF S. SPIRITO (SPANISH CHAPEL).

The Virgin, accompanied by SS. Lucy and Cecilia and two angels, is placing the habit of a bishop over the head of S. Alfonso. Below are SS. Michael and Nicholas of Tolentino. On either side of these SS. Sebastian and Anthony the Abbot. Above, S. James on horseback tramples on the Saracens.

Painted 1530. The lower lunette and SS. Michael and Nicholas are on panel. The rest is in fresco. The horse of S. James greatly pleased the Emperor Charles V., who is said to have bestowed the title of Count Palatine on the artist in consequence. This fresco was injured in the earthquake of 1798 and restored in 1800 by Liborio Guerrini. (See Romagnoli, *Op. cit.*) Original designs for this chapel are to be found in the Uffizi, Florence, and in the Beckerrath Coll., Berlin.

CHURCH OF S. GIACOMO (CONTRADA DELLA TORRE).

Christ bearing His Cross. Panel.

Fifteen life-size figures. Formerly an altarpiece in the church of the Compagnia della Croce. Removed in 1842. Much darkened. Supposed to have been his last work. (See Frizzoni, *Op. cit.*, p. 180.) Exhibited as above, 1904, as "*Maniera del Sodoma*."

CHURCH OF S. MARIA SOTTO LE VOLTE DELLO SPEDALE.

The Holy Family. Panel.

Fine painting, but restored. Given to the

Confraternity on November 27th, 1672, by Fedro Cinuzzi. (See Romagnoli, *Op. cit.*) Exhibited as above, 1904.

PORTA PISPINI.

The Adoration of the Shepherds. Fresco.

Magnificent work, but dreadfully injured. Partially restored in 1899.

CASA BAMBAGINI GALLETTI (Via di Stalloreggi).

Pietà. Fresco.

Commonly called the *Madonna del Corvo*. Much injured. Glass washed and repaired February 1900. Design for this in the Uffizi.

PIAZZA TOLOMEI.

The Holy Family with SS. John, Francis, Roch, and Crispin. Fresco.

Commonly called *Madonna de' Calzolari*. Completely ruined by smoke and time.

CHURCH OF S. MICHELE (formerly L'ABBADIA NUOVA or ST. DONATO).

Two paintings of the Holy Trinity.

Pietà.

La Madonna Protettrice. Four panels for a bier.

Fine, but unequal. The two first probably the work of pupils or assistants. Exhibited as above, 1904.

CONFRATERNITY OF SS. GIOVANNINO and GENNARO.

Madonna.

S. John the Baptist.

Pietà.

S. Bernardino.

Panels for a bier. (See Frizzoni, *Op. cit.*, p. 164.)

VILLA GRICCIOLI, MONISTERO (CHAPEL).

The Way of the Cross.

Much restored. (See above, p. 344.)

VILLA NERUCCI, MONISTERÒ (CHAPEL).

The Nativity of the Virgin. Panel.

Dated 1540. Resembles in details the *Marriage of Alexander and Roxana* (Villa Farnesina, Rome). Much restored, and cruelly over-painted and varnished. Restored by Giuseppe Collignon in 1820. (See Romagnoli, *Op. cit.*; Della Valle, *Lettere Sanesi*, vol. iii. p. 269; and Frizzoni, *Op. cit.*, p. 175.)

IN THE SIENESE DISTRICT.

SINALUNGA, COLLEGIATA.

Madonna and Child enthroned with SS. Sebastian, Roch, and Anthony the Abbot. Panel.

A very large painting. Much restored. (See Frizzoni, *Op. cit.*, p. 168.)

MONTEPULCIANO, PICTURE GALLERY.

The Holy Family. Panel.

Beautiful picture, but injured.

MONTALCINO.

The Banner of the Republic.

Exhibited as above, 1904. Terribly injured and added to later by an inferior hand.

CONVENT OF S. ANNA IN CRETA, PIENZA (REFECTORY).

The Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes. Fresco.

(End wall.) In three parts. Centre part in good condition. Right-hand portion much injured by damp; left-hand by restoration.

Circular portraits of male and female Saints of the Olivetan Order. Fresco.

(Wall on the left.) Divided by scenes from the *Life of the Virgin* in monochrome. Much injured in parts. Two or three of the portraits and some of the scenes are still in fair condition. (Wall on right.) Similar frieze, practically destroyed.

Pietà. Fresco.

(Entrance wall. Over the door.) In good condition. Note Umbrian characteristics.

Madonna and Child with S. Anne and two Olivetan Monks. Fresco.

(On the left hand of door.) Very much damaged by damp. The Holy Child's face quite obliterated. There is a free copy of this work in the church by an inferior hand.

A Bishop with six Olivetan Monks. Fresco.

(On the right.) Fair condition.

Head of Christ. Fresco.

(In the arch over the door.) In good condition, but the surrounding decoration has almost entirely disappeared.

CONVENT OF MONTE OLIVETO MAGGIORE, near CHIUSURI (CLOISTER). Frescoes.

1. *S. Benedict leaves home for school in Rome.*
2. *S. Benedict abandons the school.*
3. *S. Benedict mends the Broken Cribble.*
4. *S. Benedict receives the Hermit's Habit.*
5. *The devil breaks the Bell attached to a basket, which a hermit is letting down to S. Benedict.*
6. *A priest inspired by God takes his Easter meal to S. Benedict.*
7. *S. Benedict preaches the Gospel to the Shepherds.*¹
8. *The Temptation of S. Benedict.*
9. *Some hermits invite S. Benedict to become their Superior.*
10. *The attempt to poison S. Benedict.*
11. *S. Benedict completes the building of twelve monasteries.*
12. *S. Benedict receives the two Roman youths, Maurus and Placidus.*

¹ A drawing for this (formerly attributed to Timoteo Viti) is in the Uffizi Coll., No. 1357.



1st Photogravure Co. Ltd. London.

Lorchards. photo

Christ bearing His Cross.

Monte Civeto

13. *S. Benedict exorcises a devil from a monk.*
14. *S. Benedict produces water from a rock.*
15. *The Miracle of the Hatchet.*
16. *S. Maurus saves the life of S. Placidus.*
17. *The Theft of Bread and Wine.*
18. *The wicked monk Fiorenzo makes another attempt to poison S. Benedict.*
19. *Fiorenzo introduces loose women into the convent.*
20. *S. Benedict foretells the destruction of Monte Cassino.*
21. *S. Benedict obtains flour in abundance and restores the Monks.*
22. *S. Benedict appears to two monks when away from home and gives them directions as to the construction of a monastery.*
23. *S. Benedict having excommunicated two nuns, absolves them after their death.*
24. *S. Benedict carries the Host to the body of a sinful monk, whom the earth refused to receive.*
25. *S. Benedict pardons a monk, who, wishing to escape from the convent, finds a serpent in his path.*
26. *S. Benedict sets free a peasant who had been bound by marauders.*
- S. Benedict founding his Order.*

(Cut in half and very much injured by the insertion of a door leading into the church.)

Christ at the Column.

Christ bearing His Cross.

(These two are on either side of an arch leading from the cloister.)

(On the stairs) *The Coronation of the Virgin.*
Much restored.

(In the Superior's reception-room. Near the ceiling) *Head of the Madonna.* Charming fragment.

CASTELLO DI TREQUANDA (CHURCH OF COLLEGIATA).

The Ascension. Fresco.Cruelly injured. (See Frizzoni, *Op. cit.*, pp. 168-9, note 2.)SAN GIMIGNANO (LOGGIA OF THE PALAZZO DEL
PODESTÀ).*Madonna with Saints.* Fresco.Little remains except the cherubs supporting a curtain at the top of the picture. (See Frizzoni, *Op. cit.*, p. 136.)

PALAZZO COMUNALE (CAPPELLA DEL PRETORE).

S. Ivo doing justice. Fresco.Monochrome. Arabesque border decoration.
Injured.

ROME.

VATICAN (CAMERA DELLA SEGNATURA).

Ceiling decoration. Surrounding *tondi* by Raphael.

VILLA FARNESINA (Bedroom).

The Marriage of Alexander and Roxana. Fresco.*The Family of Darius before Alexander.* „*The Forge of Vulcan.* „*Alexander and Bucephalus.* „

This last painting has been so much repainted that it no longer shows any trace of Bazzi's work. Has been attributed to Vasari.

PALAZZO SPADA.

S. Christopher. Panel.(On the back.) *S. Luke*, in monochrome. (See Frizzoni, *Op. cit.*, p. 144.)

PALAZZO CHIGI.

The Rape of the Sabines, or the Punishment of Rhea Silvia (?). Panel.

Undoubtedly by Bazzi, though attributed to B.

Peruzzi. (See Frizzoni, *Archivio Storico del Arte*, p. 30; also *Op. cit.*, p. 144.)

[This is most probably the picture mentioned in no less than seven copies of a list of pictures once belonging to the father of Abate Galgano Ciaccheri and valued at 100 scudi. *Bib. Com. Siena*, D. VII. 21, pp. 305-18.]

VILLA MALTA, COLL. OF COUNT BOBRINSKY.

Allegorical Group; perhaps a *Charitas*.

Tondo, with a beautiful border of arabesques. Formerly in the Palazzo Chigi-Zondadari in Siena. Attributed by some authorities to B. Peruzzi.

PALAZZO BORGHESE.

No. 459. *The Holy Family*.

Very beautiful.

No. 462. *Pietà*.

Darkened by time.

FLORENCE.

UFFIZI GALLERY.

No. 1279. *S. Sebastian*.

(On the back). *Madonna with SS. Roch and Sigismund and Guild Brethren (Flagellants)*. Canvas.

Formerly a banner of the Confraternity of S. Sebastiano in Camollia at Siena. Painted in 1525. Finished by Beccafumi. (See Romagnoli, *Op. cit.*, and Milanesi MSS.)

No. 282. *Portrait of the Painter himself*.

No. 156. *Ecce Homo*.

This picture and that of a similar subject in the Palazzo Pitti are practically replicas.

PALAZZO PITTI.

Room XI. *Portrait of a man*.

„ „ *Ecce Homo*.

CONVENT OF MONTE OLIVETO. (Former Refectory.)

The Last Supper. Fresco.

Much damaged fragment Fine heads.

PISA.

CATHEDRAL.

The Sacrifice of Abraham. Canvas.

The Entombment. „

These pictures were restored in February and March, 1893. (See *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, 1893.)

MUSEO CIVICO. (SUPPRESSED CONVENT OF S. FRANCESCO.)

Room VII. No. 28. *Madonna and Saints.* Canvas.

1542. Formerly in the church of S. Maria della Spina. (As to this picture and suggested portrait of the artist therein, see Frizzoni, *Op. cit.*, p. 177.)

VOLTERRA.

PALAZZO RICCIARELLI.

The Marriage of S. Catherine.

Attributed by its owners to Daniele da Volterra, but said by Frizzoni to be of Bazzi's best period.

NAPLES.

MUSEUM.

Room II. No. 5. (Tuscan School.) *The Resurrection.* Panel. 9 ft. 3 in. × 6 ft. 8 in.

On label below "IO. ANT. EQUES. VE. AUCT. F. A. 1535." (See Gio. Batt. Pacichelli, *Il Regno di Napoli in Prospettiva*, vol. i., p. 52.)

VENICE.

PALAZZO CAPPELLO (LAYARD).

The Holy Family.

Poor. (See Frizzoni, *Op. cit.*, p. 158, note.)

BERGAMO.

GALLERIA MORELLI.

No. 60. *Madonna*.

Poor picture.

No. 83. *Fantastic portrait of a man*. Canvas.

Has been likened by Morelli to the work of Franz Hals (*Della Pittura Italiana*, p. 152).

REGGIO D'EMILIA.

CHURCH OF S. PROSPERO.

S. Homobonus giving alms. Panel 2'20 m. by 1'70 m.

(See Frizzoni, *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, 1895, p. 224, and *Op. cit.*, p. 152, note. Attributed to Bernardino Zacchetti by Venturi. *L'Arte*, September—October, 1901, fasc. ix., x.)

BOLOGNA.

COLL. OF CONTESSA ZUCCHINI SOLIMEI.

Christ appearing to His Mother after His Resurrection. Panel 22 × 35 in.

Much repainted, but probably genuine.

(It should be observed that among the paintings recorded in the Inventory of goods left at Bazzi's death, mention is made of a picture of this subject.)

TURIN.

PICTURE GALLERY.

No. 50. *The Holy Family*.

Resembles similar subject in the Pinakothek at Munich. (See *post*, p. 356.)

No. 55. *Madonna and Saints*.

Once the altarpiece in a church at Colle di Val d'Elsa.

No. 376. *Lucretia*.

Formerly (until 1860) attributed to Giampetrino. (See Morelli, *Op. cit.*, p. 155, note.)

VERCELLI.

COLL. OF CAV. AVV. ANTONIO BORGOGNA.

The Holy Family, little S. John and an Angel.
Tondo.Formerly in the Palazzo Scarpa at Motta di Livenza,
and there attributed to Cesare da Sesto. Bought for
11,000 fr. at the Scarpa Sale in Milan, November
1895.

MILAN.

BRERA GALLERY.

Room XIV. No. 299. *Madonna and Child with
a Lamb.*Bought in Cologne at the Sale of Baron van der
Ropp, by Herr Habich of Cassel. Said to have been
once in the Borghese Collection in Rome. It was
formerly attributed to Leonardo, but was recognised
by Morelli as by Bazzi from a poor photograph.
Sold by Herr Habich to the Brera in 1891 for
8500 frs.

COLL. OF DR. G. FRIZZONI.

*Penitent Magdalen.**Fragment of a Madonna and Child.*COLL. OF M^{ME} GINHOULIAC.*Madonna and Child.*

Very beautiful, but unusual.

COLL. OF SIG. SILVESTRI.

The Holy Family.

Good picture, but injured.

MUSEO CIVICO (CASTELLO SFORZESCO).

S. Michael. Panel 4 ft. 1 in. × 2 ft. 9 in.Legacy from Count Bolognini. (See C. J. Ffoulkes,
Archivio Storico dell'Arte, 1894, p. 255.)

MUSEO POLDI PEZZOLI.

The Virgin and Child with SS. John the Baptist and Catherine of Siena. Tondo.

Exhibited (No. 171, 1st Room) at the Mostra dell'Arte Sacra at Pistoia in 1899, under the attribution of "Scuola Toscana del Secolo XVI." Early work. Attributed to Bazzi by Frizzoni and Jacobsen, but to Riccio by Berenson. Much injured. (See *L'Arte*, Sept., Oct., 1901, fasc. ix., x., p. 353.)

CHURCH OF S. TOMASO.

Dead Christ supported by the Virgin and adored by the Magdalen.

Very much darkened, and hung in a corner of the Sacristy. Large picture.

ARCORE, NEAR MILAN.

VITTADINI COLL.

The Holy Family.

Late Sienese manner.

GENOA.

PALAZZO BIANCO.

Madonna and Child with S. John.

Much injured by restoration. Resembles Ginhouliac picture above. Legacy of Prince Oddo of Savoy.

OTHER CONTINENTAL COLLECTIONS

VIENNA.

PICTURE GALLERY.

No. 51. *The Holy Family with little S. John.*

Small half-figures. Formerly in the Collection of Prince Eugene of Savoy.

MUNICH.

ALT PINAKOTHEK.

No. 282. *The Holy Family.*

Almost identical with a painting in the Royal Picture Gallery, Turin. (See above, p. 353.)

BERLIN.

ROYAL MUSEUM.

No. 109. *Charitas.*

Attributed by some critics to B. Peruzzi.

FRANKFORT-AM-MAIN.

STÄDEL ART INSTITUTE.

No. 42. *Portrait of a Lady.*

Attributed variously to Paris Bordone and Sebastian del Piombo; by Dr. Bode to Jan Scorel (*Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1889, Band xii., Heft i., p. 76); by Burckhardt (*Cicerone*) to Dosso Dossi; now attributed by Dr. H. Weizsäcker to Parmigianino. (See Frizzoni, *Op. cit.*, p. 123, Morelli, *Op. cit.*, p. 155 and note, and *Cat. of Städel Gallery*.) Bought in Frankfort from the Coll. of King William II. of Holland. Very beautiful, and undoubtedly by Bazzi. Possibly a portrait of one of the *Spannocchi*.

HANOVER.

PUBLIC GALLERY (KESTNER COLL.).

No. 35. *Lucretia Romana.* (See Frizzoni, *Op. cit.*, and Schuchhardt, *Op. cit.*)

CUMBERLAND GALLERY.

No. 19. *The Holy Family with SS. Joseph and Bernardino of Siena.*

Much repainted. Probably a late work.

HAMBURG.

WEBER GALLERY.

No. 99. *Lucretia with bearded man and youth standing behind her.* Panel $71\frac{1}{2} \times 61$ cms.

Acquired in 1885 from the Habich Coll. at Cassel.
(See Fritz Harck, *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, 1891, iv. p. 84.)

STRASBURG.

PICTURE GALLERY.

The Holy Family seated under a tree.

Badly retouched. (See C. Loeser, *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, 1896, p. 283.)

TRIER.

Madonna Enthroned.

(See *Allgemeines Künstlerlexicon*, vol. iii. p. 327.
Frankfurt a/M. : Rutten & Loening, 1882.)

BUDA-PESTH.

ACADEMY.

No. 1230. *The Kiss of Judas.*

No. 1231. *The Way of the Cross.*

The Flagellation. (Not exhibited.)

Parts of a predella.

CHAMBÉRY (CHÂTEAU DE BEAUREGARD).

COLL. OF COUNT COSTA DE BEAUREGARD.

Christ bearing His Cross. Panel.

Fragment. Early manner. (See Bruzza, *Notizie*, etc., p. 27 et seq.)

STOCKHOLM.

ROYAL PICTURE GALLERY.

Pietà. Panel 35×24 in.

Repainted and discoloured. Resembles the Frizzoni Magdalen. Bought from Count Enrico Costa, Florence, 1904.

BRUSSELS.

COLL. OF M. LE BARON LÉON DE SOMZÉE. (Dispersed 1904.)

Pietà. Dark in colour. Signed, "*Ex pietate Ber.*"

Bought in 1876 from the Coll. Marcille (Paris) for 5200 frs. Engraved by Chapon. Bought by Duc d'Arenberg for £300. Sale Catalogue, No. 446.

Leda and the Swan. (Not included in the Sale.)

Bought from the same collection as the above for 500 frs.

GREAT BRITAIN

BERKSHIRE.

LOCKINGE PARK, COLL. OF LADY WANTAGE.

Madonna and Child with Infant S. John. Tondo.
Grey tones.

BUSCOT PARK, COLL. OF ALEXANDER HENDERSON,
ESQ., M.P.

The Virgin and Child, SS. John the Baptist and Francis, Tobias and the Angel Raphael. 2 ft. ×
2 ft. 6 in.

Bought from Messrs. Agnew, who obtained it from Florence.

CHESHIRE.

HIGH LEGH, COLL. OF THE LATE COL. H. CORNWALL
LEGH.

The Holy Family, S. Elizabeth, and S. John. Tondo.

Early work. Exhibited Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1898.

LONDON.

DORCHESTER HOUSE, COLL. OF CAPTAIN HOLFORD.

The Nativity. Tondo. 42 in. diam.

Formerly in the Palazzo Chigi-Zondadari in Siena. Exhibited at Burlington House (Old Masters), 1886, and Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1898.



Photo: Dixon.

(a) S. JEROME IN THE DESERT.

SAUNDERS' COLLECTION, LONDON.



(b) S. JEROME IN THE DESERT.

MOND COLLECTION, LONDON.

GROSVENOR HOUSE, COLL. OF DUKE OF WESTMINSTER.

The Holy Family.

Pleasing composition. Much darkened and over-varnished. (Not catalogued.) Mentioned by Woltmann and Woermann, vol. ii. book iv. part ii. p. 684.

MELBURY ROAD, COLL. OF W. HOLMAN HUNT, ESQ.

The Holy Family.

Cartoon washed with oils.

SURREY HOUSE, COLL. OF LORD BATTERSEA.

Madonna and Child.

Attributed to Leonardo da Vinci. The original drawing by Leonardo for this composition is in the Uffizi, and replicas of the same subject abound. Cf. Palazzo Borghese, Rome; Palazzo Borromeo, Milan; Montagu House, Whitehall; and Christ Church, Oxford, Collections.

65, GREAT PORTLAND STREET, COLL. OF MR. J. R. SAUNDERS.

S. Jerome in the Desert.

A fine picture. Best period. (See Cust, *Rassegna d'Arte*, July 1905.)

COLL. OF DR. J. P. RICHTER.

Dead Christ supported by Two Angels.

Bought in Venice by its present owner. Exhibited at the Exhibition of Italian Art, New Gallery, London, 1894, No. 167. (See *Archivio Storico dell'Arte*, 1894, p. 255.)

Madonna suckling her Infant. $26\frac{1}{2} \times 19\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Most probably the long-lost picture from S. Francesco at Siena. (See Della Valle, *Op. cit.*, vol. iii. p. 255.) Exhibited at Burlington House (Old Masters), 1904, No. 39.

20, AVENUE ROAD, REGENT'S PARK, COLL. OF DR. L. MOND.

S. Jerome in the Desert. Panel, 55 × 44 in.

This picture was bought at the Monte di Pietà in Rome by Morelli, from whose Collection it came into the hands of the present owner. (See *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, 1894, p. 255.) Exhibited at Burlington House (Old Masters) in 1891, and at the New Gallery, 1893-4, No. 201.

Madonna and Child. Oval panel, 27½ × 21 in.

Exhibited at the New Gallery, as above, No. 225.

NATIONAL GALLERY.

No. 1144. *Madonna with Saints.* Panel 1 ft. 7 in. × 1 ft. 2¼ in.

Formerly in the Rosini Collection at Pisa. Purchased in Florence in 1883 by Mr. C. Fairfax Murray. Minor work.

No. 1337. *Head of our Lord.* Canvas 1 ft. 2¾ in. × 11½ in.

Purchased in 1891 from Herr Habich, of Cassel.

The Figure of the Holy Child (in *The Circumcision*, of Luca Signorelli, No. 1128). Painted for the Convent of S. Francesco at Volterra. Bought at the Hamilton Palace Sale, in 1882, for £3150. Exhibited at Burlington House (Old Masters), 1873.

MONMOUTHSHIRE.

HARDWICK COURT, CHEPSTOW, COLL. OF E. HARTLAND, ESQ.

The Nativity. Panel 38 × 46½ in.

Bought in Florence in 1875 from Mr. Jarvis, who procured it from a private chapel at S. Sepolcro, near Arezzo. In fine condition.

SURREY.

DOUGHTY HOUSE, RICHMOND, COLL. OF SIR FREDERICK COOK.

S. George and the Dragon.

Bought from the late Earl of Shrewsbury, who purchased it from the Public Gallery in Siena (?). Exquisite colour. Exhibited at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1898.

WILTSHIRE.

CORSHAM COURT, CHIPPENHAM, COLL. OF LORD METHUEN.

Ecce Homo. Panel $26 \times 18\frac{3}{4}$ in.

Figure nearly life-size. From the Rev. J. Sanford's Coll.

SCOTLAND.

GOSFORD HOUSE, COLL. OF EARL OF WEMYSS.

The Holy Family. Tondo. 33 in. diam.

Exhibited at Burlington House, 1886. No. 207.

DRAWINGS BY GIOVANNI ANTONIO
BAZZI, CALLED "SODOMA"

SIENA.

ACCADEMIA DELLE BELLE ARTI.

No. 81. Sketch for the *Head of the Moor in the Adoration of the Magi* (S. Agostino, Siena).

Red chalk. $11\frac{3}{4} \times 9$ in.

Large sketch, much injured by worms. The Moor here has no beard as in finished picture. Upon the back is written *Comite Faustino E.G.—Spagnuolo mio—Cniato* (perhaps *cognato*). The paper has been folded like a letter. Exhibited Mostra dell' Arte Antica, Siena, 1904.

No. 84. Study for the *Cappella di Piazza* fresco. Red chalk. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7$ in.

Good drawing in fair condition. Formerly in the Coll. of Abate Ciaccheri. (See Romagnoli.) Exhibited as above, Siena, 1904.

No. 91. Study for the upper portion of the *Descent from the Cross*. Pen and ink washed with sepia. $9\frac{7}{8} \times 7\frac{7}{8}$ in.

Spirited drawing. Variation in figure behind the Cross.

DRAWINGS FROM THE SPANNOCCHI COLLECTION EXHIBITED AS ABOVE, 1904.

No. 94. *Head of a Saint*. Pencil. 28×20 in.
Called in Catalogue "*a Christ*."



Photo: H. Burton.

HEAD OF THE MOORISH KING.
STUDY FOR "THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI."
S. AGOSTINO, SIENA.

No. 63. *Madonna and Child, Moor's head, and two designs for hand with cup.* Red chalk. 28 × 20 in. Studies for S. Agostino altar-piece (see above).

No. 90. Study for *S. Jerome.* Pencil. 28 × 20 in.

No. 91. Study for *S. Jerome.* Pencil. 28 × 20 in.

FLORENCE.

UFFIZI.

Case 243. No. 43. *Two studies from the statues of Rhea Silvia and Acca Laurentia by Giacomo della Quercia on the Fonte Gaia at Siena.* Pen, ink, and wash.

Attributed to Quercia, but much more probably by Bazzi.

Case 344. No. 1934^F. *Portrait of a man.* Pencil. Possibly himself.

Case 344. No. 1939^F. Study for *S. Vittorio*, Palazzo Comunale, Siena. Pencil.

Case 343. No. 1479. Study for *Marriage of Alexander and Roxana.* Pen and ink.

Formerly attributed to Raphael.

Case 343. No. 1506. Miscellaneous fragments. Pen and ink.

Case 343. No. 1935^F. *Two men in armour asleep.* Red chalk. Perhaps sleeping guards for a *Resurrection.*

Case 343. No. 564. *Small Architectural Design.* For the decoration of a chapel.

Case 343. No. 562. *Figure of a nun.* Pen and ink. Small.

Case 343. No. 565, 1507, 1508. *A struggling woman, with other figures.* Pen and ink.

Three studies for the same subject. The latter two are signed "*Il Soddoma.*"

Case 343. No. 563. Study for *Madonna del Corvo*.
Pen and ink.

Case 345. No. 1644. Design for a ceiling, *The Fall of Phaëthon*. Sepia. Once attributed to B. Peruzzi.

Case 346, No. 1943. *Architectural Design*. Pen and ink.

Perhaps for S. Catherine Chapel, S. Domenico, Siena. Signed "*Sodoma*."

Case 347. No. 1743. *Risen Christ*. Red chalk.

Case 347. No. 1936 F. *S. Christopher*. Red chalk.
Study for the picture in Palazzo Spada, Rome.

Case 347. No. 566. *Head of a youth crowned with laurel*. Pencil and water colour.

Very beautiful. Probably a portrait. (Cf. Brit. Mus. and Albertina below. Cf. A. C. Swinburne, *Essays and Studies*, 2nd edit., p. 350.)

IN PORTFOLIOS NOT EXHIBITED.

Sheet 324. No. 1357. Study for fresco at Monte Oliveto of *S. Benedict preaching to the shepherds*.
Sepia and brown ink.

Attributed formerly to Timoteo Viti, but given to Bazzi by Morelli. (*German Galleries cit.*, p. 309, note.)

No. 1937. Study for upper part of fresco decoration. Spanish Chapel, S. Spirito, Siena. Red chalk.
 $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in. Variation.

No. 1938. *Group of struggling figures*. Red chalk.
 $8 \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ in.

No. 1945. *The Trinity with Madonna and Saints*.
Wash and pencil. $17\frac{1}{4} \times 12\frac{1}{4}$ in.

Labelled "*Maniera del Sodoma*," but probably genuine.

No. 10780. *Kneeling monk*. Pencil touched with white. $12\frac{1}{4} \times 9$ in.



Photo: Brogi.

HEAD OF A YOUTH CROWNED WITH LAUREL.

DRAWING.

UFFIZI, FLORENCE.

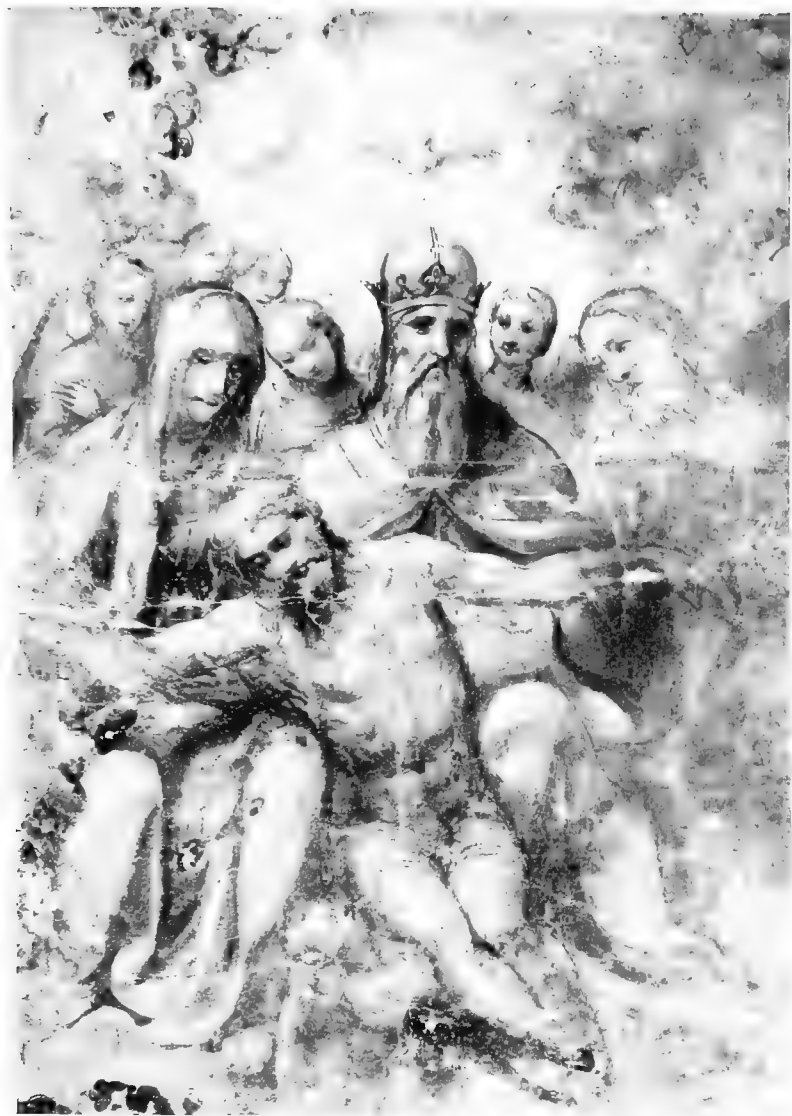


Photo: Edmund Houghton.

THE HOLY TRINITY.

DRAWING.

UFFIZI. FLORENCE

To face p. 364.

No. 10781. *Kneeling monk*. Pencil touched with white. $12\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$ in.

On the back of each of these are other sketches. On the former, a seated nude figure; on the latter, more studies for the same monk.

No. 10778. *Kneeling figure*. Red chalk. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Slight sketch, genuine. Perhaps S. John or a Shepherd.

SANTARELLI COLLECTION.

T.30. 268. *S. Catherine fainting, supported by a nun*. Pencil. $12\frac{1}{8} \times 14$ in.

Fine large drawing. Reversed position of figures to those in the fresco at Siena. Genuine.

T.31. 270. *Large Descent from the Cross, with many figures*. Sepia. (Formerly exposed in Case 438.)

T.32. 271. A Similar Study. Pencil.

TURIN.

ROYAL LIBRARY.

No. 15589. *Female saint carrying the palm of martyrdom, attended by two cherubs*. Pencil on grey paper. $15\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$ in.

Large drawing, round at the top. From the Lagoy Coll. Once attributed to B. Fungai. (Cf. painting by Gio. Batt. Crespi in the Royal Picture Gallery, Turin, No. 464.)

MILAN.

MUSEO CIVICO (CASTELLO SFORZESCO).

No. 15. *Leda* (head). Red chalk.

No. (?). *Risen Christ*. Red chalk.

Once in the Uffizi and afterwards in the Morelli Collections.

RESTA COLL. (BIBLIOTECA AMBROSIANA).

S. Mary Magdalen at the foot of the Cross. Morelli. (*Della Pittura Italiana cit.*, p. 155, note.)

BUDA-PESTH.

ESTERHAZY COLL.

Standing figure of Roxana.

VIENNA.

ALBERTINA.

Head of a young bearded man. Black chalk. Life size.

Called "A Milanese Nobleman." Sketch. Formerly attributed to Raphael. (Cf. Uffizi and Brit. Mus.)

*Head of Christ crowned with thorns.*Attributed to Andrea Solario by Wickhoff (*I Disegni Italiane dell'Albertina*, vol. ii.) (See Hermann Dollmayr in *Archivio Storico dell'Arte*, 1893, p. 68.)*Nude standing figure.*Called "A design for a *Madonna Protettrice*."

MUNICH.

ALT PINAKOTHEK.

Fol. 109. No. 3124. *The Apotheosis of S. Mary of Egypt.*No. 12873. *Large head of a woman.* Pencil. Brown paper.Signed "*Sodoma*." Very beautiful.No. 32470. *Madonna and Child, who is kissing S. Francis.*Very small pen-and-ink drawing. On the back is written "*Originale da Sodoma*": but note at the side, "*Niederlandische Schule, v. Dyck (?)*"

WEIMAR.

GRAND DUCAL PALACE.

Leda kneeling towards the swan. Pen and ink.Attributed to Leonardo. (See Morelli, *Op. cit.*)
Technique of Bazzi.

BERLIN.

OLD MUSEUM, BECKERATH COLL.

Monks on crosses; seated figures; S. Sebastian; a child with a cat. A sheet of sketches of figures.
Pen and ink.

LILLE.

MUSÉE WICAR.

No. 50. Two designs for a drawing of the *Eternal Father*. Pen on white paper.

No. 51. *Veiled head of the Virgin*. Black and red chalk.

PARIS.

LOUVRE.

No. 9168 (1242). *Head*. Chalk and wash. Grey paper.

From the Mariette Coll.

No. 9169. *Woman and Child*. Pencil.

Perhaps sketch for one of the S. Bernardino frescoes. From the Baldinucci Coll.

No. 9175. *S. Michael*. Pen, ink, and sepia. 12 × 21 in.

Large drawing. Signed "*del Sodoma*."

No. 9178. *Large woman's head, veiled and looking down*. Crayon and pencil.

Charming sketch for a *Madonna*. From the Baldinucci Coll. (tom. i. p. 151).

ACADÉMIE DES BEAUX ARTS.

Woman's head.

Finedrawing. (See E. Müntz, *Revue Encyclopédique Larousse*, No. 238, March 26th, 1898, p. 264.)

LONDON.

BRITISH MUSEUM.

No. 41. *Large head of a youth*. Black chalk slightly touched with white.

At one time attributed to Raphael, and at another to Leonardo. From the Lely, Wellesley and Malcolm Collections. (See Uffizi and Albertina above.) Cf. also A. C. Swinburne, *Essays and Studies* (2nd edition), p. 350.

No. 317. *S. Catherine fainting, supported by three angels.* Pencil, Chinese white. $12\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{3}{4}$ in.

Grey paper. Probably an original sketch for the *S. Catherine* Chapel in S. Domenico, Siena. From the Lawrence, Lagoy, and Woodburn Collections.

No. 96. *Portrait of a man with a beard, in a black velvet cap.* Pastel. $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Attributed to Timoteo Viti, and said to be his own portrait. A slight replica in chalk of this drawing is now in possession of the heirs of Sir Thomas Phillips at Cheltenham. From the Holditch, Antaldi, Lawrence, King of Holland, and Woodburn Collections. Exhibited (No. 261) Grosvenor Gallery (Winter 1877-78), as by Raphael.

COLL. OF DR. J. P. RICHTER.

Pietà. Pen and ink.

From the Cosway, Robinson and Heseltine Collections.

OXFORD.

TAYLORIAN INSTITUTION.

Sketch for Roxana's bed. Pen and ink. Once attributed to Baccio Bandinelli.

No. 177. Robinson's Catalogue. From the Arundel, Cosway, and Lawrence Coll. (See Frizzoni, *Op. cit.*, p. 142, and Foerster, *Jahrbuch*, etc., 15 Band, 1894, pp. 187-202.)

Madonna and Child with SS. Joseph and Francis.

Large cartoon from the Chambers Hall Coll.

CHRIST CHURCH.

Head of a youth with long hair.

Suggested by Sidney Colvin (*Selected Drawings at Oxford*, Part I., 1904) and by Frizzoni (*L'Arte*, 1904, Fasc. iv.-v.) to be a portrait of Raphael for the *School of Athens*. Formerly attributed to Leonardo.

CHATSWORTH.

COLL. OF THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE.

Leda on her knees embracing the swan.

Attributed to Raphael. (See Morelli, *Op. cit.*, p. *cit.* Also S. A. Strong, *Critical Studies*, etc. : London, 1905, p. 129.)

WILTON HOUSE.

COLL. OF THE EARL OF PEMBROKE.

Sketch for a group in the *Presentation* at the Oratory of S. Bernardino in Siena.

WINDSOR CASTLE.

ROYAL LIBRARY.

There are no admitted drawings by Bazzi in this Collection ; but two sketches there have been attributed to him by some of the best art critics, as follows :—

Four studies for the *dressings of the hair of Leda*.
Red and black chalk.

These are generally attributed to Leonardo, and are very elaborate. (*Grosvenor Gallery Publications*, No. 50.) Exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery, (Winter 1877-78, No. 710), and at the New Gallery (Early Italian Art, 1893-94. No. 1520.)

Nude standing figure of Leda, with her arms round the swan's neck.

Attributed to Raphael.

(For both these and other Leda drawings consult Morelli, *Op. cit.*, p. *cit.*)

PICTURES ATTRIBUTED TO GIOVANNI ANTONIO BAZZI, CALLED "SODOMA."

SIENA.

OPERA DEL DUOMO.

The Transfiguration.

Decoration for an organ. On cloth. Once attributed to Bazzi, but now proved to have been painted by Girolamo Genga under his influence, in 1510, for the sum of 100 scudi. (See Frizzoni, *L'Arte del Rinascimento*, etc., p. 130, note 1; and Vasari, vol. vi., p. 316, note 1.)

ORATORY OF S. BERNARDINO (SACRISTY).

Madonna.

Banner, very much dilapidated. Exhibited Mostra dell' Arte Sacra, Siena, 1904.

S. DOMENICO (CHAPEL OF THE ROSARY).

Predella Panels.

(See Genuine List.) Fifteen small scenes from the *Life of Christ*, illustrative of the *Joys, Sorrows*, and *Glories of the Rosary*. Probably by pupils.

(CAPPELLA DELLE VOLTE.)

The Charities of S. Catherine. Panels (2).

Authority for attribution A. J. C. Hare. Probably by Giomo del Sodoma.

HOUSE OF S. CATHERINE.

S. Jerome and S. Dominick. Fresco.

Two Prophets. Fresco.

God the Father. Fresco.

In so dark a position as to be almost invisible.
Certainly by Riccio. (See Milanese, *Documenti*, etc.,
vol. iii. p. 239.)

CHURCH OF MONAGNESE.

Frescoes.

Attributed to Bazzi and Riccio. (See Corrections
by Ercole Squarci to Pecci's *Relazione*, etc., p. 40.
Benvogl. Miscell. Bib. Com. C.V. 3, p. 325^t.)

ACCADEMIA DELLE BELLE ARTI.

Room VIII. No. 357. *S. Catherine.* Panel.

Gift of the Spannocchi family.

No. 347. *Ecce Homo.* Panel.

School work.

No. 356. *Madonna adoring the Infant Christ, with
S. Joseph and little S. John.*

School work.

(SCHOOL OF DESIGN.)

Five decorative pieces.

Fragments of a fresco decoration brought from a
Chapel at S. Francesco.

S. MARIA DI CONCEZIONE DEI SERVI.

(First altar on the right.) Two panels.

S. Roch, and *S. Catherine* or *B. Elisabetta Vieri*.

Probably by Giomo del Sodoma.

PALESTRA TOLOMEI. (SUPPRESSED COMPAGNIA DELLA
S. CROCE.)

Four Evangelists. Fresco.

*A Cross surrounded by Angels carrying the instru-
ments of the Passion.* Fresco.

A Cross with two kneeling figures. Fresco.

A seated Prophet. Fresco.

*God the Father amid Angels playing musical instru-
ments.*

Designed by Bazzi. School work.

PALAZZO SARACINI (PICTURE GALLERY).

Christ bearing His Cross.

If genuine ruined by repainting.

The Resurrection.

Large and fine. By Riccio. Formerly over the high altar in the Church of the Servi. (See Notes by Cav. E. Squarci on Gigli's *Diario Senese*, December 6th. *Benvogl. Miscell.* Bib. Com. Siena, C.V. 3, pp. 319-29.

(THE CHAPEL.)

Figures of Madonna, Saints and Holy Women.

Life-size figures, surrounding a large carved wooden crucifix. Composition good, but much damaged. Resembles paintings of *Descent from the Cross* by Pacchia at Sinalunga and at Monistero; also a similar subject at Montalcino. Some figures recall Bazzi's *Deposition* in the Picture Gallery. Most probably Riccio. Removed hither from the suppressed Confraternità di S. Giovanni Battista della Morte.

PALAZZO BERNARDI.

The Holy Family with S. Catherine of Siena.

Round picture. Exhib. Siena, 1904.

S. SEBASTIANO IN CAMOLLIA.

Four bier heads (*testate di bara*).

Attributed by some authorities to Bazzi (see Romagnoli); by others to Bigio. Probably painted by Girolamo del Pacchia for the Compagnia di S. Rocco. (Cf. Mil., *Doc.* iii. 60; and see *Guida Artistica della Città di Siena*, p. 159.)

CHAPEL OF THE OLD COMMUNAL PRISON.

The Crucifixion with Saints.

Originally good picture. Certainly not by Bazzi. Much injured; partly built up and much discoloured. (*Guida Artistica cit.*, p. 100.)

VIA GIOVANNI DUPRÉ.

The Epiphany.

Probably by Riccio. Very much defaced. (*Guida Artistica cit.*, p. 81.)

S. CATERINA DELLA NOTTE.

Replica of part of the *Adoration of the Magi*.

Perhaps a good copy. Hung in so dark a position as to be almost invisible. (*Guida Artistica cit.*, p. 51.)

CASA BARGAGLI, PORTA TUFI.

Truth.

Classical figure of nude woman, holding a hand mirror. Good condition. Small picture. Riccio. Exhib. Siena, 1904.

CASA NASTASI, VIA DEL CASATO.

The Labours of Hercules. Frescoes on façade.

Romagnoli attributes this chiaroscuro frieze to Bazzi, but it is much more probably by Capanna. Much injured by time and weather. (*Guida Artistica cit.*, p. 80.)

IN THE SIENESE DISTRICT.

SINALUNGA, CHURCH OF S. LUCIA.

S. Roch, robed in red as a Pilgrim. Bier head.
Well painted.

Dead Christ supported by Angels. Bier head.
Poor, careless, and badly repainted.

S. Bernardino di Siena. Fair. Bier head.

S. Caterina di Siena. Fair. Bier head.

All four in very bad preservation. (Cf. *Inventario Generale degli Oggetti d'Arte*, compiled by F. Brogi, p. 559.)

STREET CORNER.

Resurrection.

Very badly injured, and doubtful. *Inventario cit.*, p. 573.

TORRITA.

PREPOSITURA DI SS. FLORA E LUCILLA.

Madonna and Child seated upon clouds surrounded by Cherubs. Below, SS. John the Evangelist, Francis, Mary Magdalen, Bartholomew, Flora, and a Holy Martyr.

Colour much faded. Retouched in oil. *Inventario cit.*, p. 598. School work.

MADONNA DELLA PACE.

Angels and Saints. Large canvas.

Surrounding a picture of the Madonna by another artist. Much injured. A tolerable school work.

S. QUIRICO D'ORCIA.

CHURCH OF THE MISERICORDIA.

The Holy Family with SS. Leonard and Sebastian.

Large picture in bad condition. According to Frizzoni (*Op. cit.*, p. 185), and others, by Riccio. (Cf. also Della Valle, *Op. cit.*; *Inventario cit.*, p. 537.)

SS. Dominick and Paul. Bier heads. Oil.

Madonna and Child. Bier heads. Oil.

SS. Leonard and Sebastian. Bier heads. Oil.

Two Holy Martyrs. Bier heads. Oil.

Very doubtful. (*Inventario cit.*, p. *cit.*)

MONTALCINO.

CHURCH OF S. ANTONIO ABATE.

Banner; and decoration of a side chapel.

Most doubtful. (*Inventario cit.*, pp. 257-8.)

CHURCH OF S. LORENZO IN S. PIETRO.

The Crucifixion.

Most doubtful. (*Inventario cit.*, p. 245.)

CHURCH OF THE OSSERVANZA.

Pietà.

Probably school work. Resembles pictures by Pacchia at Monistero and Sinalunga. (*Inventario cit.*, p. 264.)

S. ANTIMO, NEAR MONTALCINO (CRYPT).

Dead Christ with Angels; and decoration of Sacristy altar.

Extremely doubtful. Much restored. (*Inventario cit.*, p. 273.)

ARGIANO, NEAR MONTALCINO.

CHURCH OF S. PANCRAZIO.

The Holy Family with S. Francis. Panel 1'82 × 1'42 cm.

Exhibited Siena, 1904. Attributed to Beccafumi. (*Inventario cit.*, p. 268.)

CONVENT OF MONTE OLIVETO MAGGIORE.

ON A STAIRCASE.

Pietà. Fresco.

Attributed to Bazzi by Frizzoni and others, but so over-painted as to be ruined. Frizzoni (*Op. cit.*, p. 116) speaks of a *Christ bearing His Cross*. Either he has forgotten what there really is, or has mistaken Riccio's large *Way of the Cross* on another staircase. *The Annunciation.* Fresco.

S. Michael driving the devils from Heaven. Fresco. *S. Peter.* Fresco.

(Fragments in the General's apartments, probably by pupils. They are certainly not by Bazzi himself.)

CHURCH.

S. Jerome.

Attributed to Bazzi. Brescianino (?) (See Notes by Cav. E. Squarci on Gigli's *Diario*, 4th March. *Benvogl. Miscell.*, Bib. Com., Siena, C.V. 3.)

ASCIANO.

COLLEGIATA.

Dead Christ supported by three Disciples. Fresco.
Tondo. Diameter 0.90 cm.

Probably by Riccio. Three-quarter-length figures.
(See Frizzoni, *Op. cit.*, p. 185. *Inventario cit.*, p. 11.)

S. GIMIGNANO.

CAPPELLA DEL PRETORE.

Truth, Prudence, and Falsehood. Fresco. Monochrome.

Very poor and doubtful work. Much damaged.

MONTEGUIDI.

CHURCH OF THE COMPAGNIA DELLA VISITAZIONE.

The Visitation. Canvas.

(*Inventario cit.*, p. 58.) Most doubtful.

SUBIACO.

CHAPEL OF S. FRANCESCO.

Scenes from the Life of the Virgin. Frescoes.

Attributed by Schmarzow. (See *Der Freskenschmuck einer Madonnenkapelle in Subiaco*, Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Königlich Sachsichen, etc.) Cf. Text, p. 115.

ROME.

CAPITOL, SALA DEI CONSERVATORI.

Scenes from the Punic Wars. Frescoes.

Probably by Baldassare Peruzzi. (Wickhoff.)

VILLA BORGHESE.

No. 434. *Leda and the Swan.*

Formerly attributed to Leonardo. Probably a copy of a lost Bazzi. Perhaps by Pacchia. (See Morelli, *Della Pittura Italiana*, etc., p. 150.)

No. 439. *The Holy Family.*

Attributed to Bazzi by Albert Jansen (*Leben und Werke*, etc., p. 45), but much more likely by L. di Credi or one of his school.

PALAZZO BARBERINI.

No. 59. *Madonna.*

Most doubtful. Much more probably by Lodi. Hard in execution. (Morelli, *Op. cit.*, p. 152, note.)

PALAZZO CHIGI.

Holy Family with SS. Catherine of Siena, Catherine of Alexandria, and Bernardino of Siena.

Very doubtful. (See Burckhardt's *Cicerone*, French edition, p. 706. G.) Hard in outline and drawing.

CORSINI GALLERY (from the MONTE DI PIETÀ).

No. 655. *Madonna and Child with SS. Nicholas and Catherine of Alexandria.* Tondo.

Very Sodomesque. Not a very good picture.

No. 719. *The Deposition. Two Grey Friars to left, two Female Saints to right.* Large fresco.

Signed *Jacobus . . . Jacopo* (?) Figures well drawn and well grouped. (Given by the Minister of Public Instruction.)

CENTURIONE SCOTTI SALE. April 27th, 28th, 29th 1903. (Sangiorgi.) Lot No. 42.

Madonna and Child. 0·73 by 0·54 cm. Doubtful.

COLL. OF DONNA LAURA MINGHETTI.

Madonna.

Second Lombard period. (See Frizzoni, *Op. cit.* p. 158, note.)

FLORENCE.

BIGALLO.

Christ bearing His Cross.

Attributed by Corrado Ricci. (See *Rassegna d'Arte*, July 1904; *Rivista d'Arte*, Anno II. Nos. 10-11. 1904.) Terribly repainted and extremely doubtful.

COLL. OF CAV. KENNEDY LAURIE.

Madonna with Saints.

More than doubtful.

SETTIGNANO, COLL. OF B. BERENSON, ESQ.

Holy Family with the Magdalen and Infant S. John.
Very doubtful.

*Madonna and Child.*¹

LUCCA.

PALAZZO PROVINCIALE.

Room I. No. 12. *Christ bearing His Cross.*
Retouched. Feeble and over-sweet.

VOLTERRA.

DUOMO (CHAPEL OF S. CARLO).

Deposition from the Cross.

Very doubtful. Probably a copy. Small sketch in oils. (See Frizzoni, *Op. cit.*, p. 175.)

S. FRANCESCO (CHAPEL OF THE CONFRATERNITÀ DELLA CROCE DI GIORNO).

The Crucifixion.

Very much over-painted. Perhaps Riccio. (See Frizzoni, *Op. cit.*, p. 186.)

¹ This painting was found by its present owner whilst this work was in the press. Consequently we have been unable to see and form any opinion upon it. Mr. Berenson dates it about 1507.

BERGAMO.

GALLERIA LOCHIS.

No. 136. *Madonna*.

Attributed to Leonardo. Second Lombard period.
Small, poor, and very dark. (See Frizzoni, *Op. cit.*,
p. 158, note ; also Morelli, *Op. cit.*, p. 153.)

VAPRIO D'ADDA.

VILLA MELZI.

Madonnone. A vast fresco.

Formerly attributed by some to Leonardo, by
others to Francesco Melzi. Assigned to Bazzi by
Morelli (*Op. cit.*, p. 152), and Frizzoni (*Op. cit.*, p. 159).
Formerly in an open loggia, but now enclosed
into a gallery by a modern flooring.

VERCELLI.

COLL. OF AVV. L. BOZINO.

Pietà. (See Faccio, *Giovan Antonio Bazzi*, etc.,
p. 193. Cf. also note from *L'Arte*, May 1899.)

PALAZZO TIZZONI. (TEATRO MARIANI, NOW ACCADEMIA
DELLE BELLE ARTI.)

A Feast of the Gods. Ceiling fresco.

The Holy Family. (On the staircase.) Doubtful.

Frizzoni doubts these being the work of Bazzi.

ARCORE, NEAR MILAN.

COLL. OF THE LATE SIG. B. VITTADINI.

Christ bound between two gaolers.

Unpleasant picture. Life-size figures, $\frac{3}{4}$ -length,

MILAN.

MUSEO BORROMEO.

No. 51. *Madonna*.

Framed in a rich frame with "Umiltas" inscribed
upon it. Attributed to Leonardo. Perhaps an old
copy of a Bazzi. (See Frizzoni, *Archivio Storico
dell'Arte*, 1890, p. 358.)

MUNICH.

ALT PINAKOTHEK.

No. 562. *Head of the Archangel Michael.*

Bought at Bologna as a Raphael. Attributed to Timoteo Viti or Costa.

BERLIN.

NOTE.—At the end of the Catalogue of the Berlin Museum appear the following entries of pictures stored away or on loan :

No. 244. *Christ bearing His Cross.* 0.59 × 0.55 cm.
Doubtful. On loan at EMDEN.

No. 292. *Ecce Homo.* 0.76 × 0.62 cm.
Doubtful. On loan at BONN UNIVERSITY.

No. 293. *Pietà.* 2.00 × 1.75 cm. Large cartoon.
In one of the offices in the BERLIN MUSEUM.

WESENDONCK GALLERY.

No. 4½. *Madonna and Child.* Panel. 0.48 × 0.39 cm.
Attributed to Bazzi, but doubtful. (Herr F. Hark, *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, 1889, p. 213.)

NEUWIED.

ROYAL PALACE.

Leda.

Sometimes called *Charity*. (See Layard's *Kugler*, vol. ii. p. 409 : ed. 1900.) Once at Malmaison, then at Cassel, and afterwards in the Collection of Prince Frederick of Holland at The Hague. (See also Morelli, *Op. cit.*, p. 148.)

MAYENCE.

ROYAL GALLERY.

No. 108. *S. Jerome in the Desert.*

No. 109. *The Holy Family.*

No. 110. *The Archangel Raphael and Tobias.*

Triptych by Eusebio Ferrari. From the Metzler Collection. Attributed to Gaudenzio Ferrari and

to Bazzi. (See Franz Rieffel, "Eusebio Ferrari und die Schule von Vercelli," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, Anno xiv. pp. 275, 292.)

BRUNSWICK.

COLL. OF HERR H. VIEWEG.

Madonna and Child.

One of his latest works, according to Fritz Harck (*Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, 1890, p. 171).

THE HAGUE.

PUBLIC GALLERY.

No. 349 (162). *Venus* (?).

Extremely doubtful. More like the work of one of Raphael's pupils. From the Rainier Coll.

BUDA-PESTH.

ACADEMY.

Madonna and Child, with SS. Francis and Catherine.
Doubtful.

VIENNA.

LIECHTENSTEIN GALLERY.

Christ bearing His Cross.

Attributed by Rumohr, Meyer and Lübke. Probably School of Leonardo.

MONTPELLIER.

MUSÉE FABRE.

No. 454. *The Virgin and Child with Infant S. John.* Panel. 0.20 x 0.17 cm.

Part of Baron F. X. Fabre's first gift to the town on April 2nd, 1825.

PARIS.

COLL. OF M. DE LA ROGIERE.

Allegorical representation of the City of Siena.

Nude woman reclining in a landscape with a serpent biting her foot. Exhibited at the Exhibition in the Palais Bourbon in aid of the poor of Alsace and Lorraine. We can find out nothing about this picture, or even exactly where it is. Doubtful.

BRUSSELS.

COLL. OF BARON LEON DE SOMZÉE. (Now dispersed.)

The Holy Family.

No. 449. Sale Catalogue, bought by M. von Mallenant (Bohème). Doubtful.

The Catalogue of the Somzée Sale also included—
Madonna and Saints. No. 447.

Holy Family. No. 448.

A Seated Saint. No. 450. Described as "*School of Sodoma.*"

ST. PETERSBURG.

THE HERMITAGE.

No. 21. *The Marriage of S. Catherine, with SS. John Evan. and Bapt., Nicholas, Stephen, Francis, Jerome, and two others.*

(See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History of Painting*, ed. 1866 vol. iii. p. 491. Called there *Mariotto Albertinelli*.)

PRIVATE APARTMENTS OF THE IMPERIAL FAMILY.

The Adoration of the Magi. 91 × 75 in.

Bought by M. Vivant-Denon for Alexander I. between 1808-12. (See Catalogue pub. by E. Pratz. St. Petersburg, 1838.) Certainly not by Sodoma.

NEWHAVEN, U.S.A.

JARVIS COLLECTION.

The Holy Family with SS. Catherine, Bernardino, and John Bapt.

Fine work ; but attributed by Mr. Berenson to School of Bazzi.

PHILADELPHIA, U.S.A.

COLL. OF JOHN E. JOHNSON, ESQ.

Salvator Mundi.

Authority Mrs. Bernhard Berenson.

BALTIMORE, U.S.A.

COLL. OF HENRY WALTERS, ESQ.

Holy Family.

Authority Mrs. B. Berenson. From the Mas-sarenti Collection.

LONDON.

COLL. OF DR. L. MOND.

Ecce Homo.

Unfinished. Doubtful.

COLL. OF — WAYNE, ESQ.

Madonna and Child. 18 × 14 in.

Extremely doubtful.

BRIDGEWATER HOUSE, COLL. OF THE EARL OF ELLESMERE.

No. 39. *Procession of Nymphs.*

Attributed to Francesco Primaticcio, but given to Bazzi by Waagen. Small narrow oblong picture, bought by the first Earl of Ellesmere in Rome from the collection of a surgeon.

COLL. OF LADY PIRBRIGHT.

Madonna and Child with SS. Joseph and John Bapt.

23 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 18 in.

Probably Riccio. Exhibited at Burlington House (Old Masters), 1904. No. 18.

MISSING PICTURES PAINTED BY
GIOVANNI ANTONIO BAZZI, CALLED
"SODOMA."

SIENA.

CHURCH OF S. FRANCESCO.

Invention of the Cross. Destroyed in the fire in 1655.

SCHOOL OF DESIGN. (ACCADEMIA).

Decoration for a cupboard.

Water-colour copy only, by Sig. Bandini. It was formerly in the Casa Venturi Gallerani, but has been sold and has since disappeared.

HOUSE OF AGOSTINO BARDI, PIAZZA POSTIERLA.

Façade. Subject unknown. Destroyed by time and weather.

HOUSE OF SIGISMONDO CHIGI, VIA DEL CASATO.

Scenes from Ovid and other Classical Subjects.
Frescoes. Now disappeared.

PALAZZO SAVINI.

Madonna and Child with SS. Joseph and John Bapt.
 $3 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ braccie.

Frame by Antonio Barili. Painted for Ænea Savini della Costarella. Sold to a foreigner by the widow of the last Savini for 120 scudi. (See Vasari, *Op. cit.*, p. 396; Della Valle, Alfonso Landi, etc.)

Madonna and Child with SS. Joseph, John Baptist, S. Catherine of Siena. $2 \times 1\frac{3}{4}$ braccie.

Frame also by Antonio Barili. (See Della Valle, Landi, etc.)

CHURCH OF S. GISMONDO ALLE VOLTE, NEAR SIENA.

The Holy Family. Panel.

Fine picture. Disappeared in the War of 1553.
(See Dionisotti, *Notizie Biografiche de' Vercellesi Illustri*, p. 199. Cf. also Mancini, 1697.)

ORATORIO OF S. GHERARDO, PICCOLOMINI CHAPEL.

The Holy Family.

Cannot be found. Mentioned only by Mr. Bevir in his *Guide* to Siena.

GUBBIO.

PALAZZO RANGHIASCI BRANCALEONI.

No. 90. *Il Presepio.*

Mentioned in the *Guida Storica di Gubbio* of Oderigi Lucarelli, p. 32. In a note on p. 29 the author states that some time subsequent to 1882 more than a hundred of these pictures were sold, and the rest divided among the four heirs of the Marchese Francesco Ranghiasi. Perhaps the painting now owned by Ernest Hartland, Esq., Hardwick Court, Chepstow. (See above, p. 360.)

CHIUSURI.

PARISH CHURCH.

The Baptism of Christ. Fresco.

SS. Benedict and Michael and other Saints. Fresco.

Recorded by Romagnoli as certainly genuine, though in bad condition. The church collapsed through a landslip at the beginning of the last century. Consequently the frescoes perished.

LUCCA.

CONVENT OF S. PONZIANO.

Madonna.

Perished. Convent destroyed.

FLORENCE.

CHURCH OF THE CONVENT OF THE MANTELLATE.

Head of a Madonna. Fresco (?) Tondo. Recorded by Romagnoli (*Op. cit.*)

COLL. OF CAV. GIUSEPPE D'ESTE.

The Trinità.

Milanesi MS., *Commentary* on Vasari. Bib. Com. Siena, P. III. 45, p. 174. Engraved in *L'Ape Italiana*, vol. v., tav. xxii.

LAMPONI SALE, Nov. 10th, 1902.

Christ carrying His Cross. Canvas. 1'10 × 0'72 cm.

Carved gilded frame. Fine painting attributed to Bazzi.

UFFIZI (CORRIDOR). Case 95, No. 188.

Engraving by Marc Antonio of a picture of *Orpheus and Eurydice*. Said to be by Bazzi.

Eurydice's head, hair, and pose resemble Eve, but the figure is generally coarse and heavy in modelling, especially in the hands.

This may perhaps have been engraved from the sketch mentioned below : Coll. of Senator G. Morelli.

MILAN.

COLL. OF COUNT CEREDA BONOMI.

Madonna.

See Morelli, *Op. cit.*, p. 152. This collection was sold and dispersed on the 14th-16th December, 1896. (See an account of the sale by Frizzoni in *Arte e Storia*, February 10th, 1897. He, however, does not mention the Bazzi picture.)

SAVONA.

Madonna.

See Mancini and Romagnoli, (*Op. cit.*) Now disappeared.

TURIN.

ROYAL PALACE.

The Virgin and Child, with SS. John Baptist and Jerome. Tondo. (Dionisotti, *Op. cit.*, p. 199.)

ROME.

CHAPEL OF CARDINAL SALVIATI.

Christ bearing His Cross. Panel.

Mentioned by Della Valle, Mancini, and Romagnoli. The latter speaks of it as being in the Cardinal's private chapel in the Palazzo Salviati, Lungara, Rome, in 1690. In a note among the Ciaccheri MSS. it is said to have been given by the painter himself to a friend, one Fedeli, apparently a tailor, and perhaps, says the annotator, a descendant of the painter, Bartolo di Maestro Fede (*sic*). Romagnoli calls it a *Way of the Cross*. Perhaps he confuses the Salviati private chapel in Rome with the Salviati altar in San Francesco, Siena. In any case the mistakes in some of the above statements are obvious.

MONTE DI PIETÀ.

Madonna and Child, with SS. Paul and Bernardino.

Panel 0·65 × 0·83 cm.

Described by Paul Mundler. (See Dr. Julius Meyer, *List of Bazzi's Works*.)

PARIS.

COLL. OF M. DE MAULDE.

Head of Christ.

Exhibited at the Turin Exhibition in 1898. (See Official Catalogue, p. 196, Sala L, No. 35, and *L'Arte Sacra*, p. 107. See also Antonio Taramelli in *L'Archivio Storico dell'Arte*, 1898, p. 181.)

LONDON.

SOLD AT CHRISTIE'S, 1847, and again in 1859.

The Countess of Spannocchi and Family; called also "Charity." Panel.

Bought the first time by N.N. for £199 10s.
Sold again, from the Northwick Collection, and
bought by J. W. Brett for £67 4s.

SOLD AT THE HAMILTON PALACE SALE, 1882.

Lot 339. *S. Christopher with the Infant Christ and
SS. Sebastian and Roch.* 16 × 14 in.

Mentioned by Waagen (vol. iii., p. 300) as in
the Collection of Capt. Stirling, M.P., Glentyan,
Renfrewshire. Bought by Banting for £44 2s.

Lot. 716. "*Riposo*," with SS. Francis, Catherine,
George, and Theresa. 29 × 22 in.

Called in the Catalogue "*Venetian School*," but
corrected in pencil by Mr. Christie himself to *Razzi*
(*sic*). Bought by Mr. Boore (on commission) for
£136 10s.

NEWHAVEN, U.S.A.

JARVIS COLL.

S. Sebastian. Attributed to Bazzi.

COLOGNE.

PICTURE GALLERY.

No. 784. *Sta Chiara.*

Catalogued as by Bazzi, but probably by Riccio.
(Dr. Thode, *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, 1889, p. 52.)
Disappeared.

COLL. OF THE LATE VICOMTE DE TAUZIA.

Scenes from Ancient Mythology.

It is uncertain where these are. (Frizzoni, *Op. cit.*,
p. 213.)

COLL. OF BARON RUMOHR.

The Story of Cefalus and Procris. On muslin.

(See Rumohr, *Ital. Forschungen*, vol. ii. p. 386 ;
and Frizzoni, *Op. cit.*, p. 149.)

COLL. OF W. SICHEL, ESQ. (?)

The Holy Family. Panel. 26 × 18 in.

Exhibited at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1898.
Bought by Mr. M. Colnaghi from the Coll. of the
Rev. A. H. Clementi Smith, at Christie's, 1899.
Disappeared.

ONCE BELONGING TO SENATOR G.
MORELLI.

Orpheus and Eurydice. Sketch.

Early Sienese period. Frizzoni, *Op. cit.*; Meyer,
Op. cit., Catalogue B.

It is as well to note that Romagnoli gives a very long list of suggested pictures by Bazzi, many of which it is hopeless now to endeavour to identify. It is hardly probable that they were important: very likely the work of imitators. Moreover, in the Sale Catalogues in the big towns of Italy and elsewhere, so-called Bazzi's are continually appearing, which more often than not may come under the same category. Now and then a genuine picture turns up, but it is usually in some private family, and often passing under another name. Others may still be found in American collections as yet unidentified, but we have not had the opportunity of surveying that vast field.

NOTE.—Whilst this work was in the press our attention was drawn to the following passage in a catalogue of pictures collected by Mr. William Young Ottley in Rome during the years 1798 and 1799, and sold at Christie's on May 16th, 1801 (W. Buchanan, *Memoirs of Painting, etc.*, vol. ii. p. 22. London: R. Ackermann, 1824):

"No. 6. SODOMO DE SIENNA.—*Madonna, with the Infant Christ and S. John.* Probably the only picture in England of this great master, who was the first of the Sienese School and a worthy concurrent of Raphael. His cabinet pictures are extremely rare even in his own country.—1 ft. 6 in. × 2 ft. 2 in.—170 guineas."

Can this be the painting formerly belonging to the Rev. A. Clementi Smith (see above)? The extract has a further interest inasmuch as it illustrates the extraordinary ignorance of the so-called critic, barely eighty years since, as soon as he strayed from the then orthodox beaten track of connoisseurship.

DRAWINGS ATTRIBUTED TO GIOVANNI ANTONIO BAZZI, CALLED "SODOMA."

SIENA.

SPANNOCCHI COLL.

Flagellatori. Pencil. 0·24 × 0·16 cm.

"*Maniera del Sodoma.*" Exhib. Siena, 1904, as
above.

FLORENCE.

UFFIZI.

Case 344. No. 567. *Risen Christ.* Pencil.
Doubtful. Very florid.

Case No. 343. No. 1212. *Pietà.* Pen and ink.
Doubtful. Scratchy and poor.

Case 103. No. 414. *Drawing of a Lady.* Red chalk.
Generally attributed to Leonardo, and by Mr.
Berenson to Pontormo.

Case 343. No. 1933. *Portrait of a Youth.* Pencil.
Doubtful.

Case 93. No. 421. *Madonna and Child with a cat.*
Pen and ink.

Attributed to Leonardo, but given to *Bazzi* by
Morelli (*Op. cit.*, p. 154).

(IN PORTFOLIOS NOT EXHIBITED.)

Sheet 324. No. 1932. *Study of a kneeling bearded
Saint.* 6 × 9 in. Pencil.

Perhaps a S. Jerome.

(IN ANOTHER PORTFOLIO.)

No. 10779. *Two Apostles*. Red chalk. $16 \times 19\frac{1}{4}$ in.

Very fine. Rather too studied to be by Bazzi. Fine draperies. Border much cut down; evidently injured.

No. 10777. *Seated figure*.

Huge torso and thighs. Absurdly small head, hands, and feet. Before him kneels another mis-formed figure. A very doubtful work.

No. 1940. *Figure of a young bearded Man*. Washed drawing.

Attributed to Bazzi. Certainly Luini.

No. 1941. *Study of figures*. Pen and ink.

Large, very doubtful. Possibly Peruzzi.

No. 1942. *The Swoon of S Catherine*.

Probably a Sienese copy.

No. 1944. *The Way of the Cross*. Washed drawing.

Figure of Christ inked over at a later date.

SANTARELLI COLL. Sheet 4.

T. 29. 256. *Pietà*. Pencil, wash and Chinese white.

Holy women and Joseph of Arimathea. Rocks behind to the left. Cross in the distance to the right.

T. 29. 266. *S. Sebastian*. Pale ink and wash.

Careful drawing for a niche. A beautiful youth bound to a pillar; left arm raised above his head, right bound behind him. Legs over-developed. (This drawing is described in Philpot's catalogue as *Christ bound to the Column*, No. 3082.)

T. 29. 267. *Venus sailing over the sea in her shell, with her mantle for a sail*. Pencil and Chinese white.

Careful drawing. Coarse modelling.

T. 31. 269. *Preparations for the Crucifixion.* Sepia.
Large drawing ; high lights touched up with white.

T. 32. 272. *Sketch for S. Sebastian in the Uffizi.*
Probably a copy sketch from the picture. Poor.

T. 33. 273. *Lucifer devouring souls.* Sepia and ink.
Winged allegorical figure. Probably an illustration to some legend or poem. Very carefully finished. Obviously not by Bazzi, though a very clever drawing. Stradano (?).

T. 33. 274. *Man struggling with a serpent.* Pen and ink.

One of the sons of Laocoon, from the celebrated group. Careful drawing. Anonimo, XVIII. Cent.

T. 34. 275. *The Crucifixion.* Sepia and ink.
Signed "*raffael d'urbino.*" One cross with many figures.

T. 34. 276. *Ecce Homo.* Sepia.
Full length, with many figures. Small drawing.

T. 35. 277. *Large head of a nun.* Pencil, red chalk and Chinese white.

Perhaps a study for S. Catherine ; but more probably a copy.

T. 36. 278. *The Virgin and Child enthroned ; S. George and the Dragon ; S. John the Baptist.*
Pen and ink.

Signed ANNO DOMINI MDLVIII. Probably by Pacchia.

T. 37. 279. *Christ in the attitude of Benediction.*
Sepia and ink.
School of Bazzi.

COLL. OF THE DOW. DUCHESS OF SERMONETA.

Two female heads facing each other. $5\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Coloured sketch in distemper, on coarse drawing-paper. Perhaps Pacchia.

TURIN.

ROYAL LIBRARY.

15,590. *Classical subject. Warriors with a woman.*
 $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ in.

Attributed by L. von F. to Peruzzi, which is much more probable.

MILAN.

AMBROSIANA.

S. Mary Magdalen seated reading.
 (Morelli, *Op. cit.*, p. 155, note.)

MUSEO CIVICO.

S. Christopher.
 Not by Bazzi.

VIENNA.

ALBERTINA.

Drawing for the *Marriage of Alexander and Roxana.*
 Formerly attributed to Raphael.

MUNICH.

ALT PINAKOTHEK.

Fol. 109. No. 2514. *Diana and her Nymphs.*
 Washed drawing. Attributed to Maturino. (See Morelli, *German Galleries*, p. 97.) Probably Genga.

HAMBURG.

KÜNSTHALLE (HARZEN COLL.).

Two drawings for Leda.

On both sides of a sheet of paper. Attributed to Raphael. But see article by W. Koopmann, *Jahrbucher für Kön. Preuss. Sam.*, vol. xii. Heft. i. pp. 43-4.

BERLIN.

ROYAL MUSEUM (BECKERATH COLL.).

Dead Christ supported by two figures. Pen on brown paper.

Exhib. Milan, 1879. Scribbled all over ; drawn and over-drawn several times.

Madonna and Child with another figure. Red crayon,

Signed "*Andrea del Sarto.*" Probably a copy.

Madonna and Child with S. Joseph. Pencil, touched with red crayon.

Copy of a composition. Diagonal lines across it.

S. Catherine of Siena. Three-quarter length. Pencil.

Washed with sepia and heightened with white. Probably a copy.

Group of Adoring Shepherds. Pencil, pen and ink.

Part of a larger composition. Grey paper.

RENNES.

MUSÉE PUBLIQUE.

Frame 57 (P) 4. *S. Sebastian.* Pen and ink.
0.29 × 0.7 cm.

Formerly belonging to the Marquis de Robien, and perhaps before that in the Crozat Collection.

PARIS.

LOUVRE (HIS DE LA SALLE COLL.).

No. 18. (2200.) *Leda.* Pencil.

Attributed. Doubtful.

No. 19. (2201.) *Leda.* Red chalk.

Attributed. Doubtful.

LOUVRE.

No. 9173. *The Adoration of the Magi.* Pen and ink.

No. 9177. (1244.) *Head of a Woman.* Pencil and crayon.
Doubtful.

No. 89. (a) *Julius Cæsar.*
(b) *Augustus.*

Two drawings on one sheet of paper. Painted in water colour touched with gold.

No. 90. (a) *Tiberius.*
(b) *Caligula.*

Same as above.

No. 91. (a) *Claudius.*
(b) *Nero.*

Same as above.

No. 92. (a) *Vespasian.*
(b) *Nerva.*

Same as above.

No. 93. (a) *Trajan.*
(b) *Hadrian.*

Same as above.

On the back of this last design the following signature is written in large capitals in three lines—

ANTONIUS
VERCELLENSIS
PINGEBAT.

These are all generally considered very doubtful.

LONDON.

BRITISH MUSEUM.

Leda. Brown ink.

Small oblong, signed *Giorgione.* Wrongly attributed.

No. 316. *Group of Sibyls with small figures below.*
Pen and bistre. $12\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{3}{4}$ in.

Has been attributed to Verrocchio and even to Botticelli. Attributed with no reason to Bazzi. Frizzoni suggests that this drawing may be by Baldassare Peruzzi. (See *L'Arte del Rinascimento*, p. 193, note.) Exhib. Grosvenor Gallery (Winter, 1877-8).

No. 734. *Angel's head.* From the Lawrence Collection.

Catalogue of Exhibition of Drawings in the British Museum, 1895. Attributed to Raphael, but given to Bazzi by Crowe and Cavalcaselle (*Raphael*, vol. ii. p. 374, note).

COLL., OF J. P. HESELTINE, ESQ., 98, QUEEN'S GATE.

Marriage of Alexander and Roxana.

Attributed to a pupil of Raphael. From the Lagoz Coll.

— MATHEY, ESQ.

Four figures, two kneeling. Black chalk.

Formerly in the Collection of Sir J. C. Robinson Squared for painting.

COLL. OF C. P. ROWLEY, ESQ.

Pietà. Christ supported by angels. Panel.

Exhibited at the New Gallery (Early Italian Art, 1893-4. No. 1561).

COLL. OF E. CHENEY, ESQ.

Head of Christ. Black and red chalk.

Exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery (Winter, 1877-8. No. 719). Attributed to Giovanni Razzi (*sic*).

ATTRIBUTED PICTURES

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COLL. OF J. KNOWLES, ESQ., QUEEN ANNE'S LODGE,
ST. JAMES'S PARK.

Head of a Girl. Three chalks. Grey paper.

Exhibited at same Exhibition as above (1878-9.
No. 571).

OXFORD.

CHRIST CHURCH LIBRARY.

Drawing for a *Triumph*. On yellow paper.

Attributed to Bazzi, but probably by Peruzzi.

The Triumph of Bacchus. Oval sketch Sepia and
Chinese white.

Attributed to Bazzi, but by Berenson to Perino
del Vaga.

MISSING DRAWINGS BY GIOVANNI
ANTONIO BAZZI, CALLED "SODOMA."

PARIS.

COLL. OF M. DESTAILLEUR.

The Fall of Phaethon.

Design for a ceiling. (See Frizzoni, *Op. cit.*,
p. 149.) Sold at M. Destailleur's sale in 1896 for
6 fr. to M. Calendaudour, and has since disappeared.

FLORENCE.

UFFIZI.

- No. 55. } *Studies of many figures.* Photographed by
" 56. } J. B. Philpot.
" 57. }
" 376. *S. Roch.* Photographed by J. B. Philpot.
" 2957. *S. John the Baptist.* Photographed by J. B.
Philpot.

All these have disappeared.

LAMPONI SALE.

Half-length male figure.

Attributed to G. A. Bazzi. (*L'Arte*, Jan. to April
1903, p. 77.)

LONDON.

FORMERLY IN SIR THOMAS LAWRENCE'S COLL. (Dis-
persed June 4th, 1860.)

The Head of the Saviour. Coloured chalks. Said
to be a fine work.

Attributed to Gio. A. Razzi (*sic*). (Christie's Cata-
logue, p. 51, No. 699.)

Two heads of young men. Pen and ink.

On one sheet. Highly finished. Attributed to
G. A. Razzi (*sic*). (No. 700.)

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